



CURRENT ACTIVITIES AND FUTURE PLANS

The Freedom Agenda Program

The stated purpose of the Freedom Agenda program is "to involve all the groups in a community in a continuing discussion of the basic rights of Americans." This is accomplished through the medium of forums or discussion groups at the community level. Spearheading this effort is the League of Women Voters through a subsidiary organization, the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc. A grant of \$45,000 in April, 1954, to the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., was augmented in November, 1954, by an additional grant of \$66,610.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 20, 25

The Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., sponsored a series of Freedom Agenda pamphlets to be used in connection with the group discussions. According to the American National Research, Inc., Report for October 5, 1955, all six of the pamphlets "are ingeniously contrived diversionary tracts. Communism and internal subversion is either completely ignored or glossed over, minimized, or de-emphasized. This is done through the simple device of creating a tremendous bugaboo about 'vanishing civil liberties', 'whittling away of Constitutional guarantees', hysteria and exaggerated fear of Communism', and all the

other tiresome and all-too-familiar stereotypes and worn-out cliches of the anti-anti-Communists, diversionaries, and confusionists."

Report singled out the pamphlet The Constitution and Loyalty Programs for particular mention. Written by twenty-six-year-old Alan Westin, one of the examples used by the author to show that loyalty to country is one of the oldest and most complex problems involved in the governing of man is: "Christ was disloyal to Rome, while Judas, betraying his Master, was loyal to the state." Report points out that, ignoring the no small question of religion, the awkward matter of historical perspective, and complete political non-similarity, "we are presumably to deduce that American Communists by being disloyal to the state are analogous to Jesus Christ. Those Americans who are loyal to their government by infiltrating the Communist conspiracy and 'betraying' its secrets to their own government are 'amalgamated' in the very best Communist style with Judas."

George E. Sokolsky devoted an entire column to the Westin pamphlet. He also pointed out the fallacy in the use of the example set out in the preceding paragraph:

"Christ owed no loyalty to Rome. His loyalty was to God. But apart from that, Rome had conquered Palestine and defiled its Temple to God. The Jews, among whom Christ appeared as a teacher and whose followers regarded Him as a Messiah, were seeking freedom from a profane conqueror. Judas was loyal to no country; he was disloyal to One whom he regarded as his teacher."

In a similar manner, Sokolsky exposes the faulty use of other examples by Westin. He also points out that although Westin speaks of Benedict Arnold, William Joyce, Vidkun Quisling, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, he says nothing of Alger Hiss, William Remington, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, or of Dr. Klaus Fuchs or Alan Nunn May. He noted that in his pamphlet Westin came up with this conclusion:

"The need to measure fidelity has also provided a fertile field for reckless and irresponsible politicians, who have been supported by groups to whom 'constitutional rights' is a dirty term and unorthodox thinking a sin. Demagogues of this ilk did not invent Communists or the Soviet Union, however, and it seems clear that the proper way to deal with them is not to abandon the quest for fidelity in public employment but to approach the task with sanity and justice, ignoring neither the dangers of Communist activity nor the menace of the radical 'security-firsters'."

From this, says Sokolsky, it is possible to say that sin is evil but that objectionable persons are not to be trusted if they point out the sinners.

New York Journal American,
July 5, 1955

Alan Westin joined the Communist Party under an assumed name while attending Harvard University in 1948 and remained a member until April, 1949. He was active in the Harvard Chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild* and was elected president of the Student Section of the National Lawyers' Guild at the national convention of the Guild

*See Appendix for citation.

in the Spring of 1949.

A news article concerning an American Legion report on the Freedom Agenda stated that the report expressed the opinion that the six Freedom Agenda pamphlets were designed "to further the delusion that the danger of Communism is non-existent." In connection with the pamphlet Freedom of Speech and Press by Zechariah Chafee, Jr., it was pointed out that Chafee: "Signed the Rosenberg clemency petitions in 1953; submitted the amicus curiae brief to the U. S. Supreme Court in behalf of John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo of the infamous 'Hollywood Ten'; sponsored appeals of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder*; signed petition opposing renewal of the Dies Committee; issued a statement defending the Communist Party in 1941 and protested the tabbing of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade* as a Red-front in 1940."

New York Journal-American,
August 23, 1955

In December, 1954, the Fund made a grant of \$5,000 to the Young Men's Christian Association for cooperation with the Freedom Agenda program, which was followed in February, 1955, by a grant of \$8,000 to the Young Women's Christian Association for the same purpose. In January, 1955, a grant of \$4,000 had gone to the Universalist Church of America for an educational program to be conducted jointly by the Universalist

*See Appendix for citation.

Service Committee and the Council of Liberal Churches in cooperation with the Freedom Agenda program. In May, 1955, a grant of \$20,000 was made to the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches to promote discussion of civil liberties issues among the members of its affiliated churches.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 20, 26, 27

In the meantime, in February, 1955, a grant of \$50,000 had been made to the American Heritage Council, Chicago, Illinois, "for a two-year program dealing with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, in cooperation with the Illinois Department of the American Legion." Robert M. Hutchins, Fund president, stated in the annual report of the Fund dated May 31, 1955, that Irving Breakstone, commander of the Illinois Department of The American Legion, called this educational effort a "positive approach to communism." Fulton Lewis, Jr., reported on his radio broadcast of September 2, 1955, that he had contacted the executive secretary of the American Heritage Council in Chicago, who had informed Lewis that there must be a typographical error, in that the wording always used by him and Breakstone was that the program was a "positive approach to Americanism."

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 21, 24

The executive committee of the Illinois Department of The American Legion, at a meeting in Bloomington, Illinois, on October 1, 1955, went on record as "repudiating and disowning any support of the . . . American Heritage Council, the Ford Foundation or The Fund for the Republic, or any of its programs."

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
October 5, 1955

Study of Communist Influence in American Life

In November, 1953, the Fund appropriated \$300,000 for an account of Communist influence in major segments of U. S. society. According to Dr. Hutchins, many public actions have been taken and many political reputations have been built on assumptions about what the Communists in the United States have been able to accomplish and what they are doing at the present time, and it therefore seemed useful to make some effort to discover whether or not these assumptions are well founded. He said that the appropriation was made to carry out a definitive study of what the Communist Party has amounted to and what it amounts to now; what the successes and failures of Communists have been in various important segments of American life.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 13, 28

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A study project committee was set up with Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University as director. Information concerning Rossiter has been set forth previously in connection with his membership on the committee studying the Communist record. The subject matter has been divided into twelve topics, under the over-all supervision of Rossiter and his assistant, William M. Goldsmith.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 37

The Cornell Daily Sun, Ithaca, New York, on February 17, 1955, reported an interview with Professor Clinton L. Rossiter in which he stated it would be best not to employ, as writers, former members of the Communist Party who had been intimately connected with the particular fields and who had subsequently deserted the Party. He added, however, that ex-Communists would be extremely useful as sources of material, but felt that it would be unwise to use them as the sole sources and main figures in the project.

The Washington Daily News of October 19, 1955, reported that Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party who is still

under a 1953 Federal indictment for perjury, was working as a paid "informant" on The Fund for the Republic project on the history of Communism.

The article also set forth that the Fund had issued a statement on behalf of Professor Rossiter which stated in part: "Mr. Browder is not an employee, a consultant, a staff member, a researcher or any other kind of employee or associate of the project or Fund." Rossiter, however, conceded that Browder was working for the project and was being paid "fairly well."

On October 6, 1955, Earl Browder testified before Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security (Eastland Committee) in Executive Session, which is conducting hearings relative to the "strategy and tactics of world Communism." Browder is reported to have been employed by Daniel Bell and Theodore Draper, who are preparing a history of the Communist movement in the United States for The Fund for the Republic, serving as a source of information for the development of the facts relative to this subject matter and at a salary of \$3,600 per year. It is reported that this salary is paid by the Fund through Bell.

Theodore Draper

One topic, History of the Communist Party in the United States (1919-1945), is to be developed by Theodore Draper.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 37

Draper started participating in Socialist activities as a youth but became interested in and sympathetic with Communism during his first year at City College of New York. He worked as assistant foreign editor of the Daily Worker, the east coast Communist newspaper, from 1934 to 1936, and as foreign editor of New Masses* from 1936 to 1939. After leaving New Masses he worked for a short time for TASS, the Russian news agency.

Daniel Bell

Daniel Bell, labor editor of Fortune and lecturer in sociology at Columbia University, was selected to develop the topic Communism in the Labor Movement. From 1941 to 1944, Bell was managing editor of The New Leader, which in 1941 described itself as the organ of the Social Democratic Federation in the United States. During the autumn quarter of 1947, Bell was faculty advisor of the Marxist Club at the University of Chicago, the stated purpose of which was to discuss, contrast and correlate Marxist methods in social science with other philosophies. Bell has long been a student of American Communism and Socialism. In his speeches and writings he has criticized the Communist Party and Communist front groups. He wrote an essay The Development and Background of Marxian Socialism in the United States, which was included in a compendium Socialism and American Life, published in 1952 by the Princeton University Press. This compendium was edited by Donald Egbert, *See Appendix for citation.

who is developing the topic Communism and the Arts for the Fund.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 37

In 1943 and in 1944 Bell spoke at mass meetings in New York City which were called to protest the jailing in Minneapolis of eighteen members of the Socialist Workers Party* under the provisions of the Smith Act.

Earl Latham, Amherst College, was selected to develop the topic Communism in Government. In December, 1941, the name E. G. Latham appeared as one of the signers of a letter from the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom* to the Governor of Oklahoma protesting the prosecution of Communists in Oklahoma for criminal syndicalism.

The other topics to be included in this study of Communist influence in American life, and the persons who will develop them are:

Communism and Anti-Communism (1945-1956)
David Shannon, Teachers College, Columbia University

Communism and Religion
Ralph L. Roy, Union Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y.

Communism and Education
Robert Iversen, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa

* See Appendix for citation.

Communism and Literature

Daniel Aaron, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts

Communism and the Mass Media

Moshe Decter, New York, New York

Communism and the Social Structure

Nathan Glazer, New York, New York

Communism and Science

Donald Fleming, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island

Communism and Opinion-Making Groups

John Roche, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania

In February, 1955, Clinton Rossiter stated that this series of books could be best completed by individuals who, for the most part, "stayed out of the arguments over Communism and McCarthyism." However, in 1954, Moshe Decter collaborated on a book entitled "McCarthy and the Communists," which criticized Senator McCarthy's investigating methods and the results thereof.

Cornell Daily Sun,
February 17, 1955.

Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc.

In November, 1954, The Fund for the Republic made a grant of \$100,000 to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York for the appointment of a special committee to make an

appraisal of the loyalty-security program of the Federal Government. The Fund claimed that it had been alleged that "the rights of individuals have been sacrificed to the demands of national security, that these demands are fantastically excessive, and that national security has not in fact been promoted by the measures adopted in its name."

Report of The Fund for the
Republic, May 31, 1955, pp. 14, 24

As previously indicated, the material incorporated in Adam Yarmolinsky's book, Case Studies in Personnel Security, which is misleading and relatively worthless as a criterion for judgment, will be used by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York in connection with this study.

The special committee appointed by the Association includes lawyers outside of New York:

Dudley B. Bonsal, Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt and Mosle,
New York, New York

Bonsal was named chairman.

Elliott E. Cheatham, Professor of Law, Columbia University

Cheatham was named staff director. For approximately three months in 1934, Elliott Cheatham employed, as a research assistant, an individual who later served with the Loyalist Army.

during the Spanish Civil War. The files of another Government agency reflect that in a letter to the Secretary of War dated March 31, 1943, Cheatham characterized this individual as an "unusually able and competent young lawyer with leftist sympathies." He further stated: "I may add that I trust his left wing sympathies will not be deemed to disqualify him for a position of responsibility during the war. It would be unfortunate, so I believe, to the position of the Army in our national life and to immediate national unity, if the radicals and left-wingers believed that they could not have an equal opportunity in our armed forces."

The remaining members of the special committee are:

Whitney North Seymour, Simpson, Thacher, and Bartlett, New York, New York

According to the Articles of Incorporation of the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union, * Whitney Seymour was a temporary director in 1936.

In both 1937 and 1938, Whitney North Seymour was retained as an attorney by the International Labor Defense* to present a case before the United States Supreme Court.

Daily Worker, February 9, 1937;
New York Daily Record, October 20, 1938

* See Appendix for citation.

Seymour was the guest speaker before the New York chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild* in 1937.

1944 Report, Special Committee on
Un-American Activities, Appendix-
Part IX, p. 1270

During 1937 and 1938, Seymour was on the board of directors of the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union. *

Monte M. Lemann, Monroe and Lemann, New Orleans, Louisiana

Monte M. Lemann was a sponsor of conferences of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare* in 1940 and 1942. He was also a sponsor of the New Orleans Council of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship* from 1943 to 1947. In 1951, Lemann admitted that he had been affiliated with these organizations but immediately withdrew when he learned that they had been cited as subversive.

Richard Bentley, Tenney, Sherman, Bentley and Guthrie,
Chicago, Illinois

Frederick M. Bradley, Hogan and Hartson,
Washington, D. C.

Henry J. Friendly, Cleary, Gottlieb, Friendly and Hamilton,
New York, New York

Harold M. Kennedy, Burlingham, Hupper and Kennedy,
New York, New York

*See Appendix for citation.

John O'Melveny, O'Melveny and Myers,
Los Angeles, California

George Roberts, Winthrop, Stimson, Putnam and Roberts,
New York, New York

Blacklisting in Private Industry

Turning its attention to another aspect of the loyalty-security program, the Fund took cognizance of the fact that the policy against retaining persons in the Government service who are regarded as disloyal or as security risks has been extended to those private corporations which have Government contracts. It further noted that some industries in which there are no Government contracts have taken it upon themselves to institute comparable procedures. Choosing the field in which it said the practice has had the longest vogue, the entertainment industry, the Fund in September, 1954, authorized a project for a study of blacklisting in the motion picture, radio and television industries, appropriating \$100,000 for this purpose.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 15, 16, 28

John Cogley

John Cogley, formerly executive editor of Commonweal, a lay Catholic magazine, was named director of this project. In

developing the project, Cogley circulated a letter which stated, in part:

- (1) Does your organization hold that certain political criteria should be met by artists whom you engage, i. e., would you disapprove of hiring an artist
 - (a) named as a Communist by a Government agency?
 - (b) who was an "unfriendly witness" before a governmental investigating body?
 - (c) who stood on the Fifth Amendment before such a body?
 - (d) who has been listed in such private organs as Counterattack, Red Channels, Firing Line?
 - (e) who in the public mind, or at least before a goodly section of the public, is deemed "controversial"?

Here, again, the stress is on "political," when actually subversion and Communism are not political but a criminal movement to destroy by force and violence the Government of the United States.

Michael Harrington

Michael Harrington, Cogley's principal assistant on the project, has participated in Socialist activities since at least 1953. Reliable information has connected Harrington with the activities of the

Socialist Youth League*, the Independent Socialist League*, the Young People's Socialist League and the Young Socialist League. In 1954 he worked for the Workers Defense League in New York City.

Paul Jacobs

In January, 1955, it was announced that Paul Jacobs, a CIO and AFL union consultant and member of the board of directors of the American Civil Liberties Union, was to be the representative on the West Coast for the survey on blacklisting in the entertainment industry.

Hollywood Reporter,
January 6, 1955

Jacobs has stated that he was active in the Young Communist League* for about a year in 1933-1934, until he was expelled for engaging in Trotskyite activities. He has said that he was a Trotskyite for about a year following his expulsion from the Young Communist League, and acquaintances have described him as a former member of the Socialist Workers Party*. One acquaintance recalled that while at the University of Rochester, Rochester, New York, in 1937 she met a Trotskyite organizer, Paul Jacobs, who tried to recruit her for the Socialist Workers Party.

*See Appendix for citation.

In a speech at Los Angeles, California, on March 14, 1953, Jacobs is reported to have (1) criticized FBI investigations; (2) complained that Gus Hall, Communist Party leader convicted in New York City in 1949 for violation of the Smith Act and a fugitive in Mexico, was not afforded his constitutional rights when he was apprehended in Mexico and returned to the United States; (3) advised those filling out Civil Service forms and loyalty oaths to admit past affiliation with cited organizations and if any trouble resulted to contact the American Civil Liberties Union immediately; (4) criticized investigations by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, warning that a citizen's refusal to answer questions concerning his past or present affiliation with the Communist Party always resulted in the loss of his job or reflected adversely upon securing future employment; and (5) stated that he could see no future for students unless they planned a well-organized demonstration of their feelings toward academic freedom and students' rights.

Representation by Counsel

American Friends Service Committee

According to the annual report of the Fund, among those who suffer from unusual legal difficulties are those who conscientiously

differ with prevalent practices and policies. The conscientious objector to military service does not fare well in this country; nor does the person who conscientiously objects to taking an oath or to telling about the unpopular activities of his acquaintances. Therefore, in order to assist conscientious nonconformists and to help to establish their rights, the sum of \$150,000 was authorized in May, 1955, for a two-year program by the American Friends Service Committee to obtain legal representation in cases of conscience, to litigate dubious points in the law, and to provide economic assistance to defendants in certain instances.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 17, 24

In a statement issued in Philadelphia on November 15, 1953, the executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee expressed concern over the congressional investigation of Communism in the Philadelphia public school system, stating that his organization had been disturbed for some time by trends toward restricting the freedom of the individual. He said, in part: "Fear is too often our response to uncertainty. Loyalty oaths, legislative abuses of investigatory power, assumption of guilt until innocence is proved, implications of

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guilt through association, and denials of the free platform are some of the products of this fear. "

The New York Times
November 16, 1953

According to the September 7, 1955, issue of the Daily Worker, the east coast Communist newspaper, the Chicago regional office of the American Friends Service Committee and the Illinois Division of the American Civil Liberties Union had undertaken to challenge the loyalty oath required of all state employees in Illinois. The article noted that the American Friends Service Committee was appealing to all state employees to resist the oath because, among other reasons, "it threatens the rights of all, including Communists." It was pointed out that the American Friends Service Committee would give financial assistance to those losing jobs because of refusal to sign the oath, part of the funds for this purpose coming from a grant from The Fund for the Republic.

This same article noted that Leon Katzen, acting secretary of the Civil Rights Congress* of Illinois, had hailed this challenge to the loyalty oath requirement "as another landmark in the growing movement to defend constitutional liberties. "

*See Appendix for citation.

In September, 1955, it was reported that twenty-five pacifists had been arrested on charges of violating the New York State Defense Emergency Act in refusing to take shelter during an air raid drill on June 15, 1955. The pacifists called the state law an infringement of civil liberties. It was noted that counsel had been assigned to aid in their defense by the American Friends Service Committee, the funds for this purpose coming out of the \$150, 000 grant to the Committee from The Fund for the Republic.

New York Daily News,
September 27, 1955

Cooperation with Bar Associations

The annual report of the Fund notes that the Fund is framing a general program of cooperation with bar associations in assisting defendants to obtain counsel, particularly in cases in which civil liberties are involved. In September, 1953, a grant of \$40, 000 was made to the Voluntary Defenders Committee, Inc., of Massachusetts "to provide counsel to indigent defendants in criminal courts." In February, 1955, a grant of \$5, 000 was made to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., for the aid of "unpopular" defendants.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
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Special Awards

For the stated purpose of dramatizing the progress made in upholding civil liberties, the Fund gives prizes to persons, organizations and communities that have distinguished themselves by the stand they have taken. In March, 1955, an award of \$5,000 was given to the University Young Women's Christian Association of Westwood, California, "for the maintenance of an open platform in the vicinity of the University of California at Los Angeles." A \$10,000 award was made in March, 1955, to the Civic Area Committee of the Waverly, Iowa, Chamber of Commerce for constructive action in racial relations, because of the efforts of the community on behalf of a Negro Air Force captain and his family.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 21, 22, 25, 27

In May, 1955, the Fund appropriated \$100,000 to be used for special awards for distinguished service to civil liberties.

One such award is described in the following paragraphs.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 30

William Jeanes Memorial Library
Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania

Mary G. Knowles is employed as a librarian at the William Jeanes Memorial Library, Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania,

which is operated by the Society of Friends. On June 22, 1955, the library received a \$5,000 award from The Fund for the Republic for its "courageous and effective defense of democratic principles" for hiring Knowles and refusing to discharge her despite the fact she invoked the Fifth Amendment before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1953, and was described by Herbert Philbrick, former FBI informant who testified before the Subcommittee, as having been a Communist Party member.

The New York Times,
June 23, 1955
The Washington Post and Times Herald,
September 16, 1955

This award has been criticized editorially as a "startling example of the sentimental approach to the security problem" and as an imposition upon taxpayers to be called upon, through the device of tax-exempt money controlled by the Fund, to subsidize an award to a library for hiring a woman who refused to testify before a Senate Committee.

Saturday Evening Post,
July 30, 1955
The (Washington) Evening Star,
September 16, 1955

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Sources who have furnished reliable information in the past have advised that Mary G. Knowles registered as a Communist Party* member in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1943; was a Communist Party member from 1944 to 1945; was secretary of the school branch of the Communist Party in 1947 and attended Communist Party meetings in 1948. She was an instructor at the Samuel Adams School*, Boston, in 1944, and was secretary of the school from 1947 to 1948. She was reported as a member of the International Workers Order* in 1949.

Knowles testified before a public session of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on September 15, 1955, at Washington, D. C. She refused to tell the Subcommittee whether she had ever been a Communist, basing her refusal on the ground the Subcommittee had no jurisdiction to question her concerning such matters as she was in possession of no pertinent information concerning subversion. Knowles, however, stated she was not then a Communist and had not been a Communist Party member for at least six years.

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
September 16, 1955

*See Appendix for citation.

A source in a position to furnish reliable information in this matter advised that township supervisors at Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, held a meeting on September 21, 1955, and voted not to accept the award to the library from The Fund for the Republic. The money was placed in escrow.

Fellowships and Grants-in-Aid

The Fund for the Republic has established a program of fellowships and grants-in-aid "in order to turn the attention of scholars to problems of special concern to the Fund and to aid those already working in the field."

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Eleanor Bontecou, Washington, D. C.

Eleanor Bontecou received an award to complete a book about the Federal loyalty-security program. In her book, The Federal Loyalty-Security Program which was published in 1953, Bontecou criticized the operation of the loyalty-security program.

David Fellman, University of Wisconsin

David Fellman received a grant or fellowship for a non-technical book on American civil liberties. The May 27, 1948, edition of

the Daily Cardinal, a University of Wisconsin student newspaper, stated that Fellman was one of fifty-nine professors who had signed a petition in a drive to defeat the Mundt anti-Communist bill.

Lewis P. Fickett, Jr., Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University

Lewis P. Fickett, Jr., received assistance in the preparation of a study of the government security program.

Walter Gellhorn, School of Law, Columbia University

Walter Gellhorn received an award for research assistance in preparing the 1956 Edward Douglass White lectures. Information regarding Gellhorn has been previously set forth in connection with his work in the production of the Cornell Series in Civil Liberties.

J. A. C. Grant, University of California

J.A.C. Grant received a grant to complete a study on "dual sovereignty" and the rights of persons accused of a crime. The April 25, 1945, issue of Variety, a theatrical publication, contained an article which stated that the Hollywood Writers Mobilization* was publishing plans for a conference to be held the following month. The name of Dr. J. A. C. Grant was listed among the University of California faculty members added to the organization's steering committee for the event.

*See Appendix for citation.

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Morton Grodzins, University of Chicago

Morton Grodzins received a grant to assist in his study of the extreme right in America.

Harold Hyman, Earlham College

Harold Hyman received a grant for a book on oaths and other efforts in American history to assure or measure loyalty.

Milton R. Konvitz, Cornell University

Milton R. Konvitz received a grant to complete a book First Amendment Freedoms.

Professor Milton R. Konvitz of Cornell University reportedly told an American Jewish Congress forum on civil liberties that "Congressional inquisitions have induced fear and bitterness, if not hysteria and panic among teachers."

Pamphlet: Rights, Vol. I, March, 1954.
Published by Emergency Civil Liberties
Committee

Speaking before the annual plenary session of the National Community Relations Advisory Council in Atlantic City, New Jersey, on June 18, 1955, Konvitz attacked congressional investigating procedures and championed "nonconformism."

The New York Times, June 19, 1955

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Konvitz allegedly was a member of the Legislative Council of the New York chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild* in 1941-1942.

Edwin Sanders, executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee in Pasadena, California

Edwin Sanders received a grant to make a study of interference with religious freedom in California.

Edward Shils, University of Chicago

Edward Shils received a grant to complete a book on the loyalty-security program. Information regarding Shils has been previously set forth in connection with the distribution by the Fund of the special issue of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.

James M. Smith, Ohio State University

James M. Smith, received a grant to complete a book, Freedom's Defense: The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions.

Malcolm Smith, University of California
Cornelius Cotter, Stanford University

Malcolm Smith and Cornelius Cotter received a grant for a study of emergency powers vested in the President and their potential effect on civil liberties.

*See Appendix for citation.

Stanford University School of Law

Claiming that the accepted view of Communist activity in the United States rests in a large part on evidence given by a small number of witnesses, The Fund for the Republic, in May, 1955, made a grant of \$25,000 to the Stanford University School of Law to "assemble the statements of the most important of these witnesses and to make an objective analysis and critical summary of them."

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The Fund announced that the study would be conducted under the direction of Herbert Packer of the New York and Supreme Court Bars, who would work in Washington, D. C., until January 1, 1956, when he would join the Stanford faculty.

The following appeared in a recent issue of Human Events:

"The Fund itself will have effective control of the Stanford project, since it is to be directed by Herbert Packer, a Fund payrollee who worked for several months earlier this year on the highly-questionable Yarmolinsky report on individual loyalty security case histories, another Fund project."

Human Events, September 24, 1955

According to the same issue of Human Events, the arrangement was concluded with Carl B. Spaeth, Dean of the Stanford Law School, who is

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described as being "widely known as an ultra-liberal." In his radio broadcast of September 6, 1955, Fulton Lewis, Jr., stated that Spaeth had made the arrangement without the consent of the board of directors of Stanford University. In his broadcast of August 22, 1955, Lewis stated that the study had been offered to various universities over the East, particularly Catholic ones, all of whom turned it down on the grounds that it obviously was nothing more than an attempt to discredit those witnesses and help the Communist cause.

In his radio broadcast of August 30, 1955, Fulton Lewis, Jr., stated that at the beginning of World War II, Spaeth moved to Washington, D. C., where he went to work for the Department of State and became a "great friend of the Alger Hiss, Lawrence Duggan, Sumner Welles clique."

Alger Hiss testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on August 16, 1948. In reply to a question as to whether or not he knew an individual named Carl between 1934 and 1937, Hiss stated, "I think I know two or three people named Carl, one of whom I certainly knew, I would think, as far back as 1937--Carl Spaith."

Hearings (1948) before the Subcommittee
on Legislation of the Committee on Un-
American Activities, House of Representa-
tives, 80th Congress, 2nd Session,
Volume I

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In January, 1949, Spaeth stated that during 1947 he came to know Alger Hiss intimately and he had many long discussions with him, but stated that he had no knowledge of Communist activity on the part of Hiss.

Spaeth attended the 11th Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations* held at Lucknow, India, October 3-14, 1950, as a member of the United States delegation.

The Stanford University School of Law received an additional \$5,000 grant from the Fund in May, 1955, to finance a summer study on a civil liberties topic by members of the Stanford Law Review.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 27

Television

In presenting its program of popular education, the Fund has not neglected the medium of television. Two competitions in the field of television have been announced. In December, 1954, \$75,000 was appropriated for awards for outstanding original drama and documentary scripts on civil liberties themes. In May, 1955, \$65,000 was authorized for awards to outstanding dramatic and documentary television shows already on the air.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 22, 29

*See Appendix for citation.

The Daily Worker issue of September 16, 1955, reflected the following awards by the Fund for original television scripts:

"Drama Class

✓ "First prize--\$5,000. The Conspirators by Lillian Schoen Andrews. The story of Elijah Lovejoy, the abolitionist editor of Alton, Ill., who was murdered for insisting on an editor's right to conduct his newspaper as he sets fit.

✓ "Second prize--\$2,500. We Can't Be the First, by Jo Sinclair. A Jewish family living in a two-family house in a small Ohio city grapples with the problem of whether to rent half of the house to Negroes who badly need a home.

"Other prizes--\$750 each:

✓ "The Invisible Accuser by Robert Spencer Carr. The fight of a woman surgeon to clear herself of charges brought against her as the result of a loyalty check.

"Typhoon by Leo Goldman. Resentment against Negroes by white personnel of a hospital ship, following their integration in the same naval unit.

"The General's Other Son by Andrew McCullough. A three-star general's struggle to accept the fact that his son is a conscientious objector.

"The Burden of the Day by John W. McGreevey. A prominent lawyer takes on the defense of a former Communist, knowing his act will end his political hopes.

"The Claw in the Cat's Paw by Jean F. Merrill. The smear of a teacher as a Communist by economy-minded citizens to forestall spending for school improvements.

"Over the Fourth by William O'Toole. The production of a Fourth of July pageant gets unexpected help from the ghosts of Hamilton, Pinckney, Henry and Washington.

"The Pencil Box War by Rose Leiman Schiller. An old storekeeper decides to attend high school but is opposed by townspeople and parents of students.

"Outpost by J. G. Severns. A Negro soldier in the Korean war, constantly baited by a white sergeant, proves himself to be the better man under fire.

"Boden's Grave by Marian C. Skedgell. A son goes home to bury his father and discovers he had never before understood his father's position as a reformer.

"The Inner Curtain by Victor Ullman. A practical joke involving communism at a large industrial plant ultimately forces the perpetrator of the joke to design.

"Documentary Class

"First Prize--\$5,000. Pepito by Burton and James Benjamin. A factual account of the experiences of a 15-year-old Puerto Rican boy during his first few days in N. Y. C.

"Six additional prizes of \$1,500 each:

"The Yankee Rebels by Lew Andrews. Three hundred years of American history, seen through the eyes of a contemporary milkman in Concord, Mass.

"The Music He Heard by J. F. Breg. A factual account of the life of Albert Einstein and his fight for the 'freedom for all men to be true to themselves.'

X "A Minority of One by Mrs. Kristin E. Hunter. Desegregation in Camden, N. J., through the true situation of the only white student in a class of Negroes.

"Shield of the Republic by Clayre and Michel Lipman. An account of the first case in which the Supreme Court established its right to review legislation.

"Natural Boundaries by Muriel O'Donnell. Integration of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in an Italian neighborhood through the Police Athletic League.

"The America of Walt Whitman by Hugh Gorman Whittington. Dramatization of excerpts bearing on civil liberties from Whitman's Leaves of Grass."

In September, 1954, \$200,000 was authorized for production of pilot films and for participation in television programs of interest to the Fund. In this connection, it is stated in the annual report that the Fund has employed television in a small experiment on the Pacific Coast, where short motion pictures "of events in the current history of freedom" are supplied to television newscasters, and is planning to extend this venture to other parts of the country.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 22, 29

Herbert L. Block

In May, 1955, \$200,000 was authorized for a fifteen-minute weekly television series featuring Herblock (Herbert L. Block), cartoonist of The Washington Post and Times Herald.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 22, 29

In the past, Block has drawn satirical cartoons concerning security-type investigations of Government employees.

The Washington Post,
December 30, 1947; September 6, 1951

A source which has furnished reliable information in the past reported that Block, in an address before a civil liberties group on

April 5, 1954, called the Communist-in-Government issue "complete and utter nonsense."

According to another reliable source, a provision in the original contract between Block and The Fund for the Republic that the cartoons and other work of Block were not to be used for political purposes was crossed out by Dr. Hutchins prior to the signing of the contract.

On October 14, 1955, the board of directors of the Fund issued a statement that the proposed television series featuring Block had been canceled when it became apparent that it would not be practical to limit Block's field of discussion to the boundaries set out by the charter of the Fund.

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
October 14, 1955

Commission on Race and Housing

In November, 1954, The Fund for the Republic authorized a grant of \$100,000 to establish a Commission on Race and Housing to look into the question of whether or not "minorities, particularly Negroes, encounter serious obstacles in finding places to live or in building new homes."

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 19, 29

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Among the members of this commission are the following persons:

Gordon W. Allport, professor of psychology, Harvard University

Allport has participated, either as a sponsor or the signer of a letter, in the activities of the Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo* ¹✓, the Council for Pan-American Democracy*², the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship*³, the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions*⁴, the National Emergency Conference*⁵, and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties*⁶. ✓

1. 1944 Report, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Appendix-Part IX
2. Daily Worker, October 20, 1942
3. Boston Globe, November 5, 1948
4. Hearings (1950) before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, on State Department Employee Loyalty Investigation, Part I
5. 1944 Report, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Appendix-Part IX
6. Daily Worker, September 24, 1940

*See Appendix for citation.

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Allport, in 1947, was one of 87 persons who opposed Secretary of Labor Schwollenbach's proposal to outlaw the Communist Party¹ and in 1950, he signed a petition calling for the abolition of the Massachusetts Legislative Committee to Curb Communism.²

1. Daily Worker, March 17, 1947

2. Boston Globe, November 28, 1950

Allport has reportedly participated in the activities of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, * the American League for Peace and Democracy, * the American Student Union, * the Committee for Concerted Peace Efforts, * the John Reed Clubs of the United States, * the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy* and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare,* either as a member, sponsor, or in a fund-raising capacity.

Allport has advised another Government agency that he was a member of the Socialist Party until 1941.

Laird Bell, attorney, Chicago, Illinois

An article in the April 26, 1951, issue of the Chicago Daily News announced that Bell was one of twelve prominent men who opposed the passage of the Broyles Bills in the Illinois Legislature. The Broyles Bills were proposed anti-Communist legislation.

*See Appendix for citation.

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In his radio broadcast of September 6, 1955, Fulton Lewis, Jr., stated that Bell defended Alger Hiss and had been a violent opponent of congressional committees investigating Communist and other subversive activities as far back as the Dies Committee.

Bell was a member of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR)* in the late 1930's and early 1940's. He contributed \$25 to the IPR in 1937, 1939, and 1942.

Peter Grimm, chairman of the board and director, William A. White and Sons, New York City

Grimm was a sponsor of a dinner held by the American Russian Institute* in New York City.

1944 Report, Special Committee on
Un-American Activities, Appendix-
Part IX

Charles S. Johnson, president, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

In December, 1951, Charles S. Johnson admitted that he had been active in the Southern Negro Youth Congress* and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare* and had been on the advisory committees of both organizations. He stated, however, that he was opposed to the activities of subversive interests which attempted to control those organizations.

*See Appendix for citation.

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Philip M. Klutznick, chairman of the board, American Community Builders, Inc., Park Forest, Illinois

In 1949, Klutznick criticized the Government's loyalty program, stating that an employee is placed on trial on a serious charge without being given sufficient information to enable him to answer the charges or intelligently defend himself.

Henry R. Luce, editor-in-chief, Time, Life, Fortune, Sports Illustrated, Architectural Forum, and House and Home, New York, New York

Luce has been identified as a member of the board of trustees of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR)* from 1938 to 1946 and was one of four vice-chairmen of the IPR in 1946. During the period from 1931-1942, Luce contributed over \$11, 000 to the IPR.

Francis T. P. Plimpton, attorney, New York City

According to the 1954-1955 edition of Who's Who in America, Francis T. P. Plimpton is a member of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

The remaining members of the Commission on Race and Housing are:

Chairman: Earl B. Schwulst

chairman of the board, president and trustee of the Bowery Savings Bank, New York, New York

Elliott V. Bell

chairman, executive committee, and director, McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, Inc.; editor and publisher, Business Week, New York, New York

*See Appendix for citation.

Reverend John J. Cavanaugh, C.S.C.	director of the University of Notre Dame Foundation, South Bend, Indiana
Charles Keller, Jr.	president, Keller Construction Corporation, New Orleans, Louisiana
Clark Kerr	chancellor, University of California at Berkeley
Stanley Marcus	president, Neiman-Marcus, Dallas, Texas
H. C. McClellan	president, Old Colony Paint and Chemical Company, Los Angeles, California
Ward Melville	president, Melville Shoe Corporation, New York, New York
R. Stewart Rauch, Jr.	president, The Philadelphia Savings Fund Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Robert R. Taylor	secretary and executive director, Illinois Federal Savings and Loan Association, Chicago, Illinois

Study of Fear in Education

In September, 1954, the Fund authorized a study of attitudes of college and high school teachers. According to Dr. Hutchins, it is widely believed that teachers in schools, colleges and universities have been intimidated by pressure groups and by the atmosphere resulting from

the cold war. \$150,000 has been appropriated for this study to determine if this is true.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 16, 29

The director of the study project committee for this investigation is Paul F. Lazarsfeld, professor of sociology at Columbia University, who has been mentioned previously in connection with Samuel A. Stouffer's book, Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties. The codirector is Louis Harris, a partner in Elmer Roper & Associates, New York, New York.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 38

A four-member advisory committee for this study is composed of:

Helen M. Lynd, professor of social philosophy, Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York

Helen Lynd was identified in the August 13, 1950, issue of the newsletter Counterattack as one of six professors who wanted to testify on behalf of eight teachers who were suspended by the New York City Board of Education for conduct unbecoming their profession when they refused to state whether or not they were members of the Communist Party.

Lynd's name has appeared, either as a signer of petitions or as a sponsor, in connection with the activities of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born*¹, Committee for Defense of Public Education*², League of American Writers*³, Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace*⁴, and the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.*⁵

1. 1944 Report, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Appendix-Part IX
2. Daily Worker, December 19, 1940
3. Daily Worker, April 5, 1941
4. Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report No. 1954, April 26, 1950 (originally released April 19, 1949)
5. The New York Times, March 3, 1945;
The Washington Post, March 21, 1945

Sources which have furnished reliable information in the past have identified Lynd as having participated, either as a member or as a sponsor, in the activities of the American Committee to Save Refugees,* the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions,* and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.*

*See Appendix for citation.

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Marie Jahoda, professor of psychology, New York University

Marie Jahoda is reported to have been a youth leader of the Social Democratic Party in Austria during the early 1930's.

Samuel A. Stouffer, director, Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University

Samuel A. Stouffer has been mentioned previously.

Frank Stanton, president, Columbia Broadcasting System, New York, New York

Other Activities

Freedom of Expression

Because, in its opinion, the authority of the Post Office Department to interfere with freedom of expression is very great, and the Department has lately shown a disposition to exercise this authority, the Fund believes that an objective analysis of the powers and conduct of the Post Office Department with reference to freedom of expression is called for. In May, 1955, \$35,000 was authorized for a study of Post Office interference with the flow of information and opinion.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 17, 30

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On September 26, 1955, it was announced that the Fund had granted \$30,000 to the Institute of Legal Research of the University of Pennsylvania Law School to study how the government intercepts non-mailable matter. According to the announcement, the study will concern government action against obscene publications, foreign political propaganda and other such material.

Daily News (New York) ,
September 27, 1955.

Columbia University received a grant of \$3,000 in April, 1954, for a pilot study by the Bureau of Applied Social Research of current situations involving pressures on local educational institutions. An additional grant of \$15,300 was authorized in June, 1954, for preparation by the Bureau of Applied Social Research of a program for a study of extremist groups. In this connection, it is to be noted that in June, 1954, the Fund appropriated \$106,700 under a project for research and planning of a study of extremist groups.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 25, 28

The Fund, claiming that one of the difficulties of teachers in colleges and universities is the widespread ignorance of the laws and practices

affecting their rights, made a grant of \$10,000 to the Academic Freedom Project of Columbia University in April, 1955. This grant is to be used to make a pilot study of the acquisition and termination of tenure in the higher institutions of California, Illinois and Pennsylvania. Clark Byse, professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania, and Louis Joughin, assistant director of the American Civil Liberties Union, were named codirectors of the project.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 16, 25

According to the annual report, the Fund has cooperated with various national organizations in reporting and analyzing attacks on freedom of expression. It has supported the American Library Association's Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom with a grant of \$6,000 authorized in November, 1954, and in February, 1955, authorized \$9,000 to be used by the National Book Committee for a preliminary exploration of the theory of the right to publish and to read.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 16, 24, 26

The Fund is assisting an effort under the leadership of J. Russell Wiggins, executive editor of The Washington Post and Times Herald, whereby

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representatives of all the media of communication that use the printed word may make a concerted attack on the problem of censorship. The project, Commission on Censorship and Related Matters, was authorized in May, 1955, with an appropriation of \$5,000 for a discussion of a commission concerned with all aspects of censorship of the printed word.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 16, 17, 30

On October 9, 1955, a \$5,000 grant to determine the feasibility of a study of the American Press' performance during the 1956 presidential campaign was announced by the Fund. The grant was made to the Association for Education in Journalism and the project will be undertaken by an affiliated group, the Council on Communications Research. The announcement of the grant stated that the Fund, had stipulated, in making the grant, that it is not committed to support such a study but is interested in examining the council's ultimate report.

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
October 10, 1955

Immigrants and Aliens

According to the annual report of the Fund, the difficulties that beset immigrants and aliens in the United States appear to have been growing

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more numerous and more serious "since the War." The legal assistance that is required is specialized and hard to find. In June, 1954, the Fund made a grant of \$15,000 to the Common Council for American Unity for the purpose of "enabling it to go to the rescue of aliens and immigrants caught in the machinery of the law." In May, 1955, the Fund made a second grant of \$32,500 to permit the Common Council for American Unity to assemble and describe 2,000 cases affecting aliens with which it has dealt.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 18, 26

Racial Discrimination

In April, 1954, the Fund authorized a grant of \$240,000 to the
MF 100-273340
Southern Regional Council to strengthen its headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, and to staff twelve state affiliates with full-time professional personnel to work in expanding community education in intergroup relations. In January, 1954, a \$5,000 grant had been made to the Southern Regional Council for preparation and distribution of a summary of the book, The Negro and the Schools.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 18, 27

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The Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago received a grant of \$10,000 in June, 1954, and an additional grant of \$8,000 in May, 1955, to expand a program for reducing interracial tensions, i. e., to help it to mitigate the acute racial tension which, according to the Fund report, has developed in Trumbull Park, Chicago.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 18, 25.

In November, 1954, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., was given a grant of \$10,000 for the work of its Department of Racial and Cultural Relations in its efforts to solve problems arising in the border states out of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States declaring segregated schools unconstitutional.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 18, 26.

The American Friends Service Committee, with the aid of the Fund, is working on the economic situation of the Indians in the Southwest, of Negroes in Dallas, Texas, and Greensboro, North Carolina, and on difficulties in the schools of Washington, D. C., that have followed the decision of the Supreme Court. For this work, the American Friends Service Committee received a grant of \$55,000 in June, 1953, and an additional

grant of \$86,500 in June, 1954. These sums are in addition to the \$155,000 received in May, 1955, for other activities which are described elsewhere.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 18, 24

According to the annual report of the Fund, the Public Education Association of New York City, at the request of the Board of Education, is studying racial segregation and educational discrimination in the schools of New York City. The Fund is helping to finance this investigation by a grant of \$10,000 authorized in May, 1955. It is alleged that this investigation is the only one of the sort now being conducted in a northern community and will seek to answer such questions as: Is there a deliberate attempt to segregate children in city schools? Are Negro and Puerto Rican children given the same educational opportunities that other children in New York City receive? What can be done to promote integration? The Board of Education has appointed a commission which is to examine the results and make recommendations for action.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 19, 26

On October 6, 1955, it was announced that Vanderbilt University's law school would set up an "impartial and objective" legal reporting service.

in the field of race relations. This service, to be financed by a \$200,000 grant from the Fund, will report on court decisions, administrative regulations and laws dealing with race relations.

New York Herald Tribune,
October 7, 1955

On October 7, 1955, it was announced that the Methodist Board of Social and Economic Relations had accepted a \$25,000 grant from the Fund, to be used for interracial study conferences, workshops, work camps and educational projects.

The Evening Star (Washington, D.C.),
October 7, 1955

Popular Education

For the stated purpose of arousing interest in civil liberties, to explain their importance, and to describe their conditions at the present time, the Fund appropriated \$20,000 in April, 1955, for work in civil liberties with labor unions. In April, 1954, it authorized \$35,000 to be used by the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools for a radio series on problems confronting public schools, and in May, 1955, it authorized \$5,000 to be used by the American Friends Service Committee to finance radio programs on civil liberties topics. Earlier, in September, 1953, \$40,000 had been

granted Columbia University in connection with its bicentennial celebration, the theme of which was "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof." This grant was used to prepare and distribute material pertaining to the Bicentennial, including a documentary film, "Freedom to Read," radio programs, and a pamphlet series.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, pp. 21, 24, 25, 26, 30

In September, 1954, an editorial award competition project was authorized for awards to publications for distinguished contributions on topics of interest to the Fund. \$100,000 was appropriated for this purpose.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,
May 31, 1955, p. 29

The FBI and The American Legion

David Lawrence, in his column of August 23, 1955, captioned "Investigating the Investigators," stated that judging from the annual report of The Fund for the Republic it appeared that the organization was "primarily interested in investigating the investigators- the persons and institutions who recognize that a Communist conspiracy has existed in the United States and still exists."

The Evening Star (Washington, D.C.),
August 23, 1955

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his broadcast on August 22, 1955, reported that the Fund was trying to find some college to serve as a "front" in making an investigation of the FBI and The American Legion. He again mentioned this in his broadcast on August 26, 1955, reporting that he had been informed that a project was under consideration by the Fund to investigate both The American Legion and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, on the grounds that "they endanger personal rights and freedoms of individuals."

Similar allegations have appeared subsequently in the news, both in newspapers and on the radio.

Paul Harvey News, August 28, 1955;
Fort Lauderdale (Fla.) Daily News,
September 3, 1955, September 21, 1955;
Chicago Sunday Tribune, September 4, 1955;
Human Events, September 24, 1955

As a matter of fact, on August 15, 1955, it was reported confidentially that Wilbur H. Ferry, vice-president of the Fund, had commented that The Fund for the Republic was going to have an investigation made of the FBI and that he would like to have a good Catholic law school undertake such an investigation. He also mentioned that the Fund was going to have an investigation made into the activities of The American Legion.

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On October 6, 1955, another source reported that he had heard from a person working on a Fund project that the Fund was going to allocate a rather large sum of money to investigate the FBI and was looking for personnel to conduct the inquiry.

On October 8, 1955, information was received that although some individuals on the staff of The Fund for the Republic were urging an investigation of the FBI, the matter of a grant of funds to conduct such an investigation had not as yet come before the board of directors.

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PART IV

CURRENT ACTIVITIES AND FUTURE PLANS (September 10, 1955, to January 1, 1956)

CURRENT STUDIES AND PROJECTS

Federal Loyalty-Security Program ✓ X

In November, 1954, the Fund made a grant of \$100,000 to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York for the appointment of a Special Committee to make an appraisal of the loyalty-security program of the Federal Government. With regard to the project, the Fund has received the following criticisms:

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his broadcast of September 22, 1955, said that the Fund is directing its every effort in an attempt to convince the public that the whole idea of a Government security program is a bad thing and thus get rid of it, which has been its real objective all along. (100-391697-146,183)

George Sokolsky, in his broadcast of October 23, 1955, in a discussion of the security system of the United States, said that most of the Fund's tax-free money is being spent to fight anti-Communism and the security system of the United States. (62-89885-119)

On November 22, 1955, Joseph Volpe, former General Counsel of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), and now an attorney in Washington, D. C., advised the Bureau that during the time when Senator Clifford Case was President of the Fund, he (Volpe) served as an advisor to Case on projects for the Fund. During that time they had outlined an objective study of the Government's security program. After Case had resigned, Robert M. Hutchins was designated as President.

According to Volpe, the proposed study of the Government's security program was then presented to Hutchins, who immediately said: "The security program is no good and I'm going to prove it and I'll spend all the money necessary to establish that fact." Volpe stated that obviously Hutchins' mind had been made up prior to the time he even had contact with the security program project and his whole approach was not to be.

one of objectivity, but rather a definite preconceived idea to discredit the Government's security program. As a result of Hutchins' attitude, Folpe resigned from the Fund. (100-501007-200)

The Study of Communism and Religion ✓ X

H. G. Lorman, of the Circuit Riders Association, a Methodist lay group, advised the Bureau on October 10, 1955, that Ralph L. Roy, who is doing the book on "Communism and Religion" for the Fund, has apparently gotten the book fairly well completed and it will be a complete whitewash of any possibility that Protestant clergy have aided the Communist cause.

Lorman stated that he (Lorman) has a group now busy compiling the front affiliations of 900 clergymen which are being documented. This documentation will show the front connections of each clergyman, which they hope to have ready for release at the time Roy releases his book. Lorman added that Roy has communicated with him and has asked for all of Lorman's exhibits. This, however, Lorman did not do and only gave him a representative number. He has kept track of what he gave Roy and if Roy criticizes any from his book for the Fund, then he, Lorman, will use this as an additional basis for an attack against Roy's book. (100-501007-224)

The Study of Communist Influence in American Life ✓ X

✓ In November, 1950, the Fund appropriated \$250,000 for an account of Communist influence in major segments of United States society. Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University was named director of this project. (100-501007-123)

✓ On October 10, 1955, the Fund announced that Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party in the United States, had been hired by them as a "source of information and raw material" in the preparation of a "scholarly" history of Communism in the United States. Browder's work on the project was described as being on a "regular fee and paid commentator basis." Browder claimed in a statement that Browder does not control a single word or comment in any book which may be put out by the project. (100-501007-A3 (10/10/55 issues of "Washington News" and "New York World-Telegram and Sun")).

David Lawrence in a column appearing in the October 21, 1955, issue of the "Call-Bulletin," San Francisco, California, newspaper, and Victor Riesel, in a column appearing in the October 22, 1955, issue of "The San Antonio Light," San Antonio, Texas, newspaper, were critical of the Fund's employing of Browder as a source of information regarding Communist matters, stating that he had repeatedly refused to furnish this information to the FBI and the Department of Justice and yet he was hired to do the same thing by the Fund. (100-391697-A)

✓ The hiring of Browder by the Fund was also criticized in an editorial appearing in the October 24, 1955, issue of the "Seattle Post Intelligencer," which stated in part: "It gives offence to any decent and honest sense of propriety for a man with Mr. Browder's record as a Communist and in his present position of still unresolved accusation to have any part in the preparation of the reference books and texts from which American children may shape their political and economic philosophies in even the smallest part. Does it not justify equal offense that an organization capable of assigning such a role to such a man should undertake the tasks and responsibilities of publication in that field? American history should indeed include the story of Communist activity in this country, but the truth of the matter should be told by those who believe in America and the perverted version of the Communists themselves should not be substituted for the truth." (100-391697-A)

Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his October 31, 1955, broadcast advised that he had received a wire from Professor Rossiter which requested Lewis to call him before he mentioned Rossiter's name on his future broadcasts. Lewis said that he called Rossiter, who said that he was very unhappy, very uncomfortable and was sick and tired of being blamed for the inadequacy of the project of the bibliography. Rossiter assured Lewis that his project would be objective and would not be tainted with a leftist touch. Rossiter also said that he was fully cognizant of the fact that the Fund had gone to the left. (100-391697-236)

The Study of Fear in Education ✓ X

In September, 1954, the Fund authorized \$150,000 for a study of attitudes and fear among college and high school teachers. (100-391697-146)

Concerning this project, Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his broadcast of October 4, 1955, said a questionnaire had been circulated among 2,500 professors and others in the field of education. The questions were designed to probe into their thinking on politics and academic freedom. Lewis stated that he requested a copy of this questionnaire from the committee in charge of this project but they flatly refused to make one available. (94-4-2189-204.)

George Sokolsky, in his column of November 19, 1955, referred to an editorial appearing in the "Beaumont Enterprise" newspaper, concerning this project which stated in part that "evidence may be presented to make the American people believe college professors, cover in their classrooms, look furtively about the campus when they leave for their homes to see if they are being followed by sinister strangers." Sokolsky then stated that nobody so scared or so sinister will be found on any campus except such scholars as have devoted themselves to sedition or subversion and wonder why no one has ever caught them. (100-391697-A, 11-19-55 "New York Journal-American")

FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS-IN-AID

American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) X

In May, 1955, the Fund granted the AFSC \$150,000 in order to assist conscientious nonconformists and to help establish their rights. (100-391697-146)

In September, 1955, it was reported that 25 Pacifists had been arrested on charges of violating the New York State Defense Emergency Act in refusing to take shelter during an air raid drill on June 15, 1955. The Pacifists called the state law an infringement of civil liberties. It was noted that counsel had been assigned to aid in their defense by the AFSC, the funds coming out of a previous grant from the Fund. ("New York Daily News," 9-27-55;)(100-391697-A)

With regard to the above incident, Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his October 5, 1955, broadcast said that he went to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where he interviewed heads of the AFSC and then to New York City to see what happens to the Fund's grant at the "action level." He said that the leader of the 25 arrested Pacifists is Dorothy Day, who is the publisher of a notorious magazine called "The Catholic Worker," a very left-wing publi-

cation not connected with the Catholic Church. Lewis stated that Miss Day, as a representative of the group, called police on the day of the practice air raid and told them that she and her group were going to stage a demonstration on that date and would refuse to obey police orders to go into the shelter. According to Lewis, one Ammond Kennessy, who is the editor of Miss Day's publication, said that she and he were "philosophical anarchists" and that they were disobeying a man-made law in order to obey the law of God. (94-4-2189-237)

By letter dated November 21, 1955, Dr. George D. Weinstein of Langhorne, Pennsylvania, furnished the Bureau with an article taken from the November 17, 1955, issue of the "Delaware Valley Advance" newspaper, (city not indicated) which states that Frederick L. Fuges, an attorney in Newton, Pennsylvania, recently began a two-year "Rights of Conscience" project for the AFCC. The project reportedly seeks to "reaffirm man's right to be more answerable to his God and conscience than the temporary dictates of his state." The article adds that Fuges is now organizing across the nation a legal redress bureau to assist conscientious nonconformists. The Bureau has not investigated Fuges; however, our files reflect that he was reportedly listed as one of the hosts for a group of Soviet officials employed at the United Nations Secretariat, who were to tour the Bucks County, Pennsylvania, area in April, 1955. (65-61942-240)

✓ Commission on Race and Housing ✕

✓ In November, 1954, the Fund authorized \$100,000 to the captioned group to make a nationwide survey of the housing of minority groups. (100-391667-146)

✓ The October 23, 1955, issue of "Labor's Daily" reported that the Fund has appropriated an additional \$135,000 to finance the work being done by the Commission.

✓ A press release of the Fund dated October 27, 1955, stated that Henry Dreyfuss, industrial designer of New York and South Pasadena, California, has been appointed to the Commission, replacing Harold C. McClellan, who resigned in August, 1955.

✓ Dreyfuss was the subject of an applicant-type investigation conducted by the Bureau in 1942 and 1951, which revealed nothing derogatory concerning him. Our files contain no additional pertinent information on Dreyfuss. (77-15067; 116-213900)

The Freedom Agenda Program X

The Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., under a \$111,612 grant received from the Fund in 1952, organized the Freedom Agenda Program for the purpose of involving all the groups in a community in a continuing discussion of the basic rights of Americans. Since its inception this program has been under severe attack by various writers and commentators. (100-30167-142)

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his broadcasts of November 15, 16, 17; December 7 and 8, 1955, was most vociferous in his condemnation of the Freedom Agenda Program. He stated in substance that the "proscribed" reading material, which he described as being on the "anti-anti-Communist" side, was being used to "brain-wash" the public. He claimed that some of the reading material was an attack upon the role of Congressional committees in the security field and was written by the same super-liberal names scattered throughout the Fund's constitution. Lewis had repeatedly posed for his listeners the question of whether this material could be considered a calm, unprejudiced appraisal of the situation as advertised or a blatant and coordinated piece of propaganda. (44-1-217-237, 243)

The Americanism Committee of the American Legion Post, Kenosha, Wisconsin, prepared a statement dated October 20, 1955, which stated that after a study of the Freedom Agenda Program sponsored by the Fund they were concerned about the "extent of influence of pro-Communists associated with the project." The report added that the committee charges, and is prepared to support in detail by way of governmental records, that the reading and discussion material recommended by the Freedom Agenda Program has been authored by individuals who have a record of Communist front affiliation or are Communists. (100-3-107-237)

The above charges were again repeated by the Americanism Committee of the American Legion Post at Kenosha, Wisconsin, at a public rally held by that post on November 20, 1955. The committee urged that the Freedom Agenda Program be abandoned in view of the charges that the reading and discussion material has been prepared by individuals who have a record of Communist front affiliations or are Communists. The League of Women Voters at Kenosha, Wisconsin, who were sponsoring the Freedom Agenda Program there, endorsed the Legion's charges with a five-page bulletin in which they stated "We found the charges unprejudiced." ("Milwaukee Sentinel," Milwaukee, Wisconsin 11-21-55; 100-3-107-1)

Stanford University School of Law ✓

In May, 1955, Stanford University was awarded a grant of \$25,000 by the Fund for the purpose of studying the testimony of former Communists who have been witnesses in various proceedings. (100-301007-146)

Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his broadcast September 10, 1955, stated that Stanford University had accepted the grant from the Fund and made it clear that the Fund will not be permitted to exercise any influence over the study or the results and the study will be impartially made by legal experts. According to Lewis, as long as the study takes place under the ultra-liberal and very politically-minded Dean of the University, Carl Socoth, it is highly suspect from a realistic standpoint. (100-301007-174)

The San Francisco Division has furnished the Bureau with a Photostat of a preliminary draft of an article to appear in the "Stanford Law Review," a publication of Stanford Law School, which article is concerned with employer practices implementing the Federal Industrial Personnel Security Program and was prepared under a grant from the Fund. A review of this article reflects that it is a lengthy discussion of governmental regulations in the Federal Personnel Security Program and the operation of that Program. It reaches a conclusion that the industrial security program presents an effort to strike a fair balance between the demands of security and individual rights; however, it advocates that the Government assume responsibility for confidential clearances which are now granted exclusively to industrial employees by their employers. No critical comment concerning the FBI is made. (100-301007-107X)

Southern Regional Council (SRC) ✓

✓ The November 7, 1955, issue of the "New York Journal-American," carried an article written by Leon Nacht, which stated that the SRC, which has a \$240,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic to study interracial relationship, has 21 members with past pro-Communist affiliations. The article then identified these individuals and sets out in detail their alleged pro-Communist affiliations.

✓ The November 9, 1955, issue of the above newspaper sets forth an article reflecting an interview of Hutchins, President of the Fund, in which Hutchins defends the directors of the SEC in spite of their alleged pro-Communist affiliations. Hutchins stated that the accusations against them are "inaccurate and perfidious." (100-801697-A)

Regarding Hutchins defense of the directors of the SEC, an editorial appeared in the November 9, 1955, issue of the "New York Journal-American" which stated that "Dr. Hutchins explanation, it seems evident, identified him as an anti-anti-Communist. That seems to have been his attitude for several years; and it also seems evident that his attitude dominates the purposes and donations of the Fund for the Republic under his control." (100-801697-A)

Television Programs ✓

✓ The November 2, 1955, issue of the "Labor's Daily," stated that the Fund will give three prizes totaling \$40,000 for television programs handling the themes of liberty and freedom "with the greatest distinction, taste and effectiveness." The prizes are as follows: \$15,000 for best network documentary, \$15,000 for best network drama, and \$10,000 for best product of either type by an independent station. The Fund has not yet announced the winners of these awards. (100-801697-A; 10-27-55 issue of "New York Times")

SPECIAL AWARDS

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

The NAACP announced in New York City on October 23, 1955, that it had received a gift of \$50,000 from the Fund to be used "for the purpose of continuing our fight to remove all forms of discrimination against colored Americans in education." The money was accepted by Thurgood Marshall, head of the Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP. (The 1955 issue of "The White Centinel," official organ of the National Citizens Protective Association, St. Louis, Missouri.)

✓ The Bureau has not investigated Marshall. Our files show that he has been a member of the National Lawyers Guild (1949) and the International Juristcal Association, both cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Other information in Bufiles indicates that Marshall, in connection with his NAACP activities, has supported or dealt with individuals described as Communist fellow-travelers. (62-36667-5)

Toledo (Ohio) Bar Association

✓ In November, 1955, the Bureau received information from a member of the Constitutional Rights Committee of the Toledo Bar Association, Toledo, Ohio, to the effect that George J. Gould, Toledo attorney and member of the above Committee, submitted a check for \$10,000 to the Toledo Bar Association from the Fund for the Republic during the past year. According to the source, Gould was originally approached concerning these funds by a Mr. Freeman, believed to be associated with the Fund or the Ford Foundation, or both. Freeman had made it known to Gould that funds were available from the Fund for the Republic as a grant to the Toledo Bar Association if the money or at least a considerable portion thereof would be used in providing legal aid for "subversive cases or other unpopular causes." According to the source, the Toledo Bar Association has not yet decided whether to accept or reject the \$10,000 although they were still in possession of the check. [CAUSA
[redacted] Toledo, Ohio; 100-891637-254]

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William Jeaneas Memorial Library
Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania

Documentary

100-338613

✓ The William Jeaneas Memorial Library, Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, on June 22, 1955, received a \$5,000 award from the Fund for its "courageous and effective defense of democratic principals" for hiring and refusing to fire Mary G. Knowles, a librarian, who previously refused to discuss past Communist Party activities while testifying before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1953 and 1955. (100-891637-146)

✓ The Township Supervisors at Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, held a meeting on September 21, 1955, and voted not to accept the award; however, in view of contrary votes it was decided to place the money in escrow. Meetings were subsequently held on October 15, 1955, and November 17, 1955, at which times the Township Supervisors were still undecided about retaining the money or returning it to the Fund. (100-891637-A; November 5, 1955, issue of "The Nation," November 17, 1955, issue "New York Herald-Tribune")

In connection with Mary Knowles' appearance before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on September 15, 1955, and her refusal to discuss past Communist activities, an editorial

in the September 19, 1955, issue of "Boston Post," which stated "It is fair to infer that Mary Emmales, who used to be a member of Herbert Philbrick's Communist cell in Cambridge, has been selected by the Fund for the Republic as one of its martyrs." (100-301637-A)

University of California YLCA X

Faul G. Hoffman, Chairman of the Board of the Fund, on November 4, 1955, presented a \$5,000 award from the Fund to the University of California YLCA for its "distinguished service to freedom of speech and equality of opportunity." The article gave no details concerning the activities of the YLCA which prompted this award. (100-301637-A; 11-5-55 "New York Times")

PART IV

CURRENT ACTIVITIES AND FUTURE PLANS

(January 1, 1956, to March 31, 1956)

CURRENT STUDIES AND PROJECTS

The Study of Communist Influence in American Life *K*

In November, 1953, the Fund appropriated \$300,000 for a study of communist influence in major segments of United States society. Professor Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University was named director of this project.

(100-391637-146)

The January 7, 1956, issue of the "Ithaca Journal," Ithaca, New York, newspaper contained an article concerning Professor Rossiter and his work with the Fund. According to Rossiter he was asked by Hutchins, the Fund's president in August, 1954, to direct a survey of communist influence in the United States. He accepted, he stated on the basis that he would be given full freedom and that all major decisions would be his. Rossiter said his project sought thoughtful and documented answers to the following questions:

1. What was the extent of communist penetration into American society, institutions and ideals?

2. What is the extent of real or potential communist penetration today?

3. That permanent effect did communism, as distinguished from efforts to root out communism, have on American life?

In connection with this study, Rossiter said, Earl Browder, the former head of the Communist Party in the United States, is one of scores of former communists --- both repentant and unrepentant --- to whom we will talk in the course of these studies. (others were not identified) He added that the studies will illuminate the strengths and weaknesses of this country. One of the valuable by-products of the study, Rossiter noted, will be a "unique library of materials on American communism." He hopes to have this project complete on or before January 1, 1959. (100-391637-333)

Communism and the Social Structure ✓

By letter dated January 5, 1956, Miss Caryl S. Terry, employed as a secretary by the Fund at New York City, advised the Bureau that members of the Funds project studying communism and American society have subscribed to a number of communist and procommunist publications in the course of accumulating documentary materials on the subject of their research. She added as a matter of office routine, she signed a number of letters requesting such subscriptions, referring particularly to the "National Guardian" (not cited as a subversive publication) which is now being sent to her. She claims she has no sympathy with its views or to similar publications to which she subscribed. (100-331637-323)

Files are negative concerning Terry. It is noted that "Communism and the Social Structure" is included among the topics being studied by the Fund in a group entitled "Communist Influence in American Life."

Communism and Anti-Communism ✓

David Shannon, Teachers College, Columbia University, is preparing a study of "Communism and Anticomunism (1945-55)," as part of the Funds project entitled "Communist Influence in American Life."

Under date of March 16, 1956, Shannon directed a letter to the Bureau's New York Office stating that in connection with the above-mentioned study he had subscribed to the "Daily Worker" and the "Worker," east coast communist newspapers, as an aid to his research. He added that he may also interview Communist Party members and other questionable people. He noted that he wanted the Bureau to be aware that the purpose of his activities in connection with this project are strictly scholarly. (100-31637)

FELLOWSHIP AND GRANT-IN-AID

Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago, Illinois X

✓ The Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago, Illinois, in its 1955 achievement report, listed among its income an \$9,000 contribution from the Fund for the Republic. An explanation was given as to the purpose of the contribution by the Fund. (1/29/56, "Chicago Daily News"; 44-6327-A)

Council on Communications Research X

✓ In October, 1955, the Fund granted \$5,000 to the Council on Communications Research, an affiliate of the Association for Education in Journalism, to conduct a study to determine without commitment the feasibility and practicability of a study of the performance of the American press during the 1956 Presidential campaign. (The study was proposed to the Fund by the National Committee on Ethics and News Objectivity of Sigma Delta Chi, national journalistic fraternity.)

✓ On 1/27/56, the Sigma Delta Chi announced that as a result of a poll of 76 editors and publishers, they have scrapped the plans for the above mentioned study. (1/27/56, "The Evening Star"; 100-301037-323)

District of Columbia Bar Association

✓ The 1/11/56, issue of "The Washington Star" newspaper reported that the District of Columbia Bar Association voted on 1/10/56, to set up a non-profit foundation for research into legal programs, with a study of State Department passport policies as an initial project, expected to be completed in May, 1956. It was reported that the Fund tentatively had offered a \$25,000 grant for the undertaking. Objection to the proposed foundation was voiced by Miss Kathryn Casey, who declared that the "whole slant of the Fund (Fund for the Republic) is to the left." (100-301037-A)

Fulton Lewis, Jr., commented regarding this grant on his 1/9/56, broadcast, stating that the Fund had made the offer some weeks earlier but the Board of Directors of the District Bar Association was going to submit the offer to the entire membership of the association, being aware of the Fund's past history and not wanting to take the responsibility for the decision on the matter. Lewis added that John Lord O'Drian, member of the District Bar Association, and the Board of Directors of the Fund, was promoting the project. Lewis stated that this is the same O'Drian who wrote the book "National Security and the Individual

Freedom," thousands of which were distributed by the Fund. The book, Lewis said, is the usual diatribe of double talk against the Government's Loyalty-Security Program and is an attempt to persuade the reader that there is no danger from communists in the Government or elsewhere and that innocent citizens cringe and cower and live in fear night and day because of the anticommunist hysteria which has been imposed upon the Nation by unprincipled politicians and evil propagandists. Lewis added that if O'Brien had anything to do with the proposed study the results will justify the worst fears that the barriaters may be entertaining at the present. (94-4-2109-265)

San Francisco Council for Civic Unity (SFCU)

✓ The 2/6/56, issue of "San Francisco Chronicle" newspaper reported that the SFCU was sponsoring a series of 20 TV programs over station KGO-TV (owned and operated by the Chronicle) beginning 2/26/56. The series to be called "Barrier," will be financed by a \$25,000 grant from the Fund and will deal with specific cases in the Bay area concerning race relations, loyalty oaths, religious bigotry, and civil liberties. The program will be narrated by Council's Executive Director Edward W. Howden with assistance from writer-producer Paul Obluda and Council Directors Brooks Glyde and Bill Losh. Howden announced that if the programs prove successful the Fund will spend additional \$25,000 for more programs. (100-391697-337)

Information re above TV programs was previously furnished the Bureau 2/1/56, by Ignatius McCarthy, engineer and electronics technician, San Francisco, who stated he was offered employment by Obluda as technical expert for the programs. Obluda is planning films on "False Arrests" and "Illegal Searches and Seizures." McCarthy states will accept position and will advise Bureau re further developments. Detailed summaries of information in Bufiles concerning SFCU and above-named individuals are contained in Bufile 100-301697-337, 344, 345, 347.

In connection with above TV programs, Obluda contacted our San Francisco office on 2/9/56 and stated that their March 4, 1950 program was to deal with the civil rights aspects of search and seizure and the use of electronic listening devices by law enforcement. He desired statement from SAC re position of the Department in this matter. The Director has indicated "keep out of this entirely," and SAC San Francisco was advised to that effect by Buairtel 2/10/56. (100-301697-344)

Television Programs

✓ On 1/20/56, the Fund announced the "Robert E. Sherwood

✓ Awards," for television programs dealing with American liberty and freedom, as presented on commercial television between 10/1/55, and 5/31/56. The awards are designated as follows: \$20,000 for the best network drama; \$20,000 for the best network documentary; and \$15,000 for the best production of either type by an independent station. [The following individuals were named as jurors for the awards: Kermit Bloomgarden, theatre producer; Robert M. Furgell, managing director, station KATV-TV; Robert Taft, Jr., attorney; Gardner Cowles, president, Des Moines Register and Tribune Company; Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of the late President; Harrison Tweed, attorney; Euell G. Gallagher, president, College of the City of New York; Gilbert Seldes, author and critic; and Philip H. Wilkie, attorney and vice president, Rushville, Indiana, National Bank. Detailed summaries of information in Bufiles concerning the above-named individuals are reflected in Bufile (100-391637-352, 355, 351.)

The above TV awards were commented on by Victor Riesel in his column 1/23/56, in which he was critical of the Fund's selection of Bloomgarden, who he said sponsored a cited communist front organization in 1940. Riesel added that Bloomgarden had also been tied up with several unpleasant pro-Soviet organizations (unnamed) which did much to smear the reputation of our Government, here and abroad. (1/23/56; "New York Mirror"; 62-92195-A)

Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his broadcast 3/1/56, stated that this type of award was a method of giving left-wingers respectability and prestige, and another example of the Fund's encouragement of left-wing activities. (94-4-2109)

In an article entitled "Fund for the Republic Muffs Again," by Joseph D. Shipley in the 2/27/56, "The New Leader," Shipley complained that Kermit Bloomgarden, whose career has been marked by membership in a number of front organizations, is the only one of the nine judges who has any knowledge of the theatre. Shipley also questioned the selection of Bloomgarden because of his security background. (100-391637)

Vanderbilt University Law School

It was announced on 10/6/55, that the Vanderbilt University Law School would set up a reporting service in the field of race relations to report on court decisions, administrative regulations, and laws dealing with race relations. This service was to be financed by a \$200,000 grant from the Fund.

On 2/25/56, it was announced that the first edition of "The Race Relations Law Reporter," a bi-monthly magazine, was published by the Vanderbilt University Law School. The edition

the Methodist church." Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., \$25,000, for a study of methods of representation of criminal defendants, including the "public defender" principle. Department of Social Education and Action of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (Northern Presbyterians) and the Division of Christian Relations of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern Presbyterians), \$15,000, each for educational work in racial and cultural relations. National Student Association, \$3,000, to support the association-sponsored academic freedom work. Columbia University, \$1,070, to assist the Columbia Law Review in a study of problems involved in dealing with former prisoners of war accused of acts prejudicial to the interests of the United States. (1/5/56, "Washington Evening Star"; 100-391607-A)

Potential Projects ✓

James Monroe Jefferson, a self-employed publicist residing in Los Angeles, California, advised our Los Angeles office on 1/27/56, that he had recently applied to the Fund for employment and in outlining his experiences he mentioned that he had been employed as a publicist for various growers in southern California. He also indicated having worked on various matters relating to the internment of Japanese in the U. S. during the early part of World War II and had implied that these growers had been in favor of the Japanese being interned.

Jefferson added that on 1/27/56, he had received a letter from Mallock Hoffman, Executive Assistant to the President, wherein Hoffman stated in substance that many people felt that the Japanese had been unjustly interned and that the Fund was interested in using any material which Jefferson may have compiled regarding the growers, et al, being in favor of the Japanese internment provided Jefferson could fully document this material and there was nothing in his background to embarrass the Fund.

Jefferson was of the opinion that the Fund was attempting to prove that the real basis for the Japanese internment was a result of pressure by groups such as the growers association rather than any military danger. He added that this was contrary to any of his own thoughts on the matter and for that reason did not accept the Fund's offer. (100-391607-340, 346)

PART IV

CURRENT ACTIVITIES AND FUTURE PLANS
(April 1, 1956, to June 30, 1956)

CURRENT STUDIES AND PROJECTS

The Study of Fear and Education ✓ X

✓ In September, 1954, the Fund authorized \$150,000 for a study of the attitudes and fear among college and high school teachers.

✓ The "National Review," issue of 4/18/56, carried an article entitled "From the Academy," written by Russell Kirk. In the article Kirk states that "The Fund for the Republic is spending a great deal of money in an endeavor to discover fear among teachers. Men seldom fail to discover what they seek, if they have sufficient money to spend in the pursuit; and a representative of that Fund recently remarked in my presence that the Fund knew that teachers were thoroughly terrorized, and was now proceeding to document its assumption." "...Few men know better than does Mr. Robert Hutchins, head of the Fund for the Republic, just how timorous professors and teachers are; for he has bullied and browbeaten the species for some decades with conspicuous success. Certainly some people of the University of Chicago quake at the name of Robert M. Hutchins." (100-391697)

Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States X

By way of background, the Fund in June, 1953, appropriated \$64,500 for a study of public records concerning communism, under the direction of Professor Arthur Sutherland of the Harvard Law School. As a result of the study, the Fund in January, 1955, published a book entitled "Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States." Subsequent to its distribution of the "Bibliography," the Fund received considerable criticism in the press from scholars and writers claiming that important anti-communist works had been omitted.

On 4/12/56 the Fund announced that it would revise its controversial "Bibliography." Hutchins, who made the announcement, stated that \$25,000 had been allotted for the preparation and

distribution of the revision. Professor Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University, in charge of the revision, said that he wanted it made clear that the revision was not being made because of previous criticism that the "Bibliography" had omitted important anti-communist writings, but because of criticisms made that were "intellectual in character," not further explained. (Washington Post and Times Herald, 4/14/56, 100-391697-A)

The Washington City News Service on April 13, 1956, reported that Joel Seidman, a professor at the University of Chicago, will be in charge of the revision of the "Bibliography," under the supervision of Rossiter. Seidman has not been investigated by the Bureau. He has been, however, in the League for Industrial Democracy (not cited), American Student Union (cited by HCUA), Keep America out of War Congress (not cited) and the Socialist Party. A detailed summary is contained in Bufile 100-391697-372. (100-391697)

FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS IN AID

Survey on Racial Integration

✓ According to the 4/15/56 issue of the "New York Times," a survey to compile a factual inventory of racial integration in the North is currently under way. This survey is being made by a staff of researchers headed by David Loth, formerly with the "New York Times" and the "New York World." According to Loth, the aim of the project is the preparation of a list of all instances of desegregation in Northern areas during the last two years where Negroes and whites were separated. The list, he explained, will include instances resulting from court orders, official mandates, pressure of organized groups, voluntary action or mere accidents of population. He added, "We're trying to assemble the bare facts of desegregation without any comment or explanation."

Loth has not been investigated by the Bureau. A detailed summary concerning him is contained in Bufile 100-391697-374.

San Francisco Council for Civic Unity (SFCCU)

On 2/6/56 the SFCCU announced that they were sponsoring a series of 26 television programs over station KRON-TV, beginning 2/26/56 under a \$35,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic. This series, to be called "Barrier," was to deal with civil liberties.

Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his broadcast 6/21/56, stated that the previous week's issue of "Variety" magazine contained a review of the television series entitled "Darrier," referred to above. The review in "Variety" states that "Darrier" is a series on civil liberties and that the Fund was picking up the tab. Civic organizations such as the League of Women Voters and the Antidefamation League are participating. Lewis, referring to an unspecified program in the series, stated that it was evident that the panel of the program was made up of four or five liberal lawyers and a "couple of housewifely fill-ins." "The liberal viewpoint completely swamped the conservative," he said. This, he said, is "what the Fund for the Republic calls education in the field of civil liberties. Translated, that means propaganda in the field of ~~anti~~-communism." (D4-4-2163)

~~When the Detroit Office~~ *This Bureau* on 4/6/56 received information from an informant to the effect that D. J. Widick, Detroit, Michigan, member of the Independent Socialist League (cited by Attorney General), stated he was going to Washington, D. C., to conduct a series of interviews with important people in the socialist and communist movements. This was in connection with a book he was writing, which he described as a report on the Communist Party. Widick stated that his book and his trip to Washington, D. C., were being sponsored by the Fund. (100-391627-262)

The Fund for the Republic made public on 6/21/56 a report on its first three years' operations. This report, which is summarized under Part VI of this memorandum, disclosed a number of grants totaling \$376,141 not previously announced by them. These grants are indicated as follows:

\$65,334 for a news-film project that supplies motion pictures and tape recordings of events in the field of civil liberties to radio and television stations. This project was not identified but is probably the project headed by Herbert Bernard of Los Angeles, California.

\$45,000 to the Association for Education and Journalism for a study of press treatment of civil liberties to be made after the national elections this fall.

\$36,000 to the School of Librarianship of the University of California to investigate pressures affecting the selection and retention of books in libraries.

157,000 to the Sara Lawrence College in Bronxville,
New York, for a two-year experimental program of student-faculty
seminars on civil liberties and civil rights.

Bureau files fail to reflect any pertinent information
concerning Sara Lawrence College, Herbert Bernard and the School
of Librarianship of the University of California.

PART IV

CURRENT ACTIVITIES AND FUTURE PLANS (July 1, 1956 to September 30, 1956)

CURRENT STUDIES AND PROJECTS

Our Civil Rights

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his syndicated column on 7/5/56 said that the Fund was now going to make available to radio stations and discussion groups a series of 13 quarter-hour programs entitled "Our Civil Rights," examining the status of civil rights in this country. According to Lewis these programs consist of tape recordings of testimony presented to the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights (Hennings Committee). Al Hamilton, a member of the Radio Department of the United Auto Workers in Washington, D. C., was hired by the Fund to record more than 200 hours of subcommittee hearings and to edit the recordings for a radio series.

Lewis was critical of the above-mentioned programs as he said that the Hennings Committee itself was intent to discredit anticommunism in general and the Federal Loyalty-Security Program in particular. He said its staff was infiltrated with Fund for the Republic thinkers during its hearings last fall. He added that Hamilton, the editor, would only parrot the liberal line of the United Auto Workers.

Bureau files reflect that one Al (Albert Wilkin) Hamilton in 1935 was national chairman of the Student League for Industrial Democracy (succeeded by the American Student Union, cited by the HCUA); that he had participated in the 1935 convention of the American Youth Congress (cited by the Attorney General); was a sympathizer and supporter of the Socialist Workers Party (cited by the Attorney General) 1935 and 1936; and was expelled from the University of California at Los Angeles in July, 1938, for refusing to take a required course in military science and tactics. In 1935 Hamilton was reportedly president of the Southern California Congress of Youth, affiliated with the American Youth Congress (cited by the Attorney General).

Hamilton also admittedly was a member of Young Peoples Socialist League (youth organization of Socialist Party) 1934-37; was member of National Executive Committee of Socialist Party, 1934-43; and was the Washington representative and reporter for the Socialist "Call," 1940-43. It is noted that the above individual and his wife, Jennett, resided at 3021 Grady Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., in January, 1953. (121-41673).

The Folks Washington City Directory of 1944 lists Albert H. Hamilton (wife, Jennett) as residing at 3021 Grady Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., and employed as a radio program producer, employer not specified. This individual may be identical with the above-named individual and the Al Hamilton referred to by Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his 7-5-53 broadcast.

Study of Communist Influence in America

The San Francisco Division by letter dated 9-2-53 has advised that according to a technical surveillance on the Communist Party Headquarters at San Francisco, California, one William Goldsmith, a teacher at the City College of New York, New York City, on 8-30-53 contacted William Schneiderman, chairman, District 13 Communist Party, San Francisco, and said he was working on a book relative to the effect communism has had on labor. This was in connection with his study concerning the effect of communism on the American way of life. An interview was arranged for the following day.

On 9-21-53 Goldsmith appeared at the office of Schneiderman regarding the above matter. The conversation recorded, for the most part, was inaudible. It, however, related to a general discussion regarding the above-mentioned book being written by Goldsmith. No significant statements were noted other than the fact that Schneiderman had criticized Goldsmith for his critical writing in the past, presumably against the Communist Party. (Telex, SF 618-3; 100-391637)

William Goldsmith appears to be identical with William H. Goldsmith who according to Bufiles is the assistant in charge of a project to study the communist influence in American life under a \$500,000 grant made by the Fund in

November, 1953. Our files contain no additional pertinent information concerning Goldsmith. (100-391697-70, 291 encl. p. 63)

Trade Union Educational Program

The Bureau has received a copy of the AF of L-CIO pamphlet No. 31 dated July, 1953, entitled "Security, Civil Liberties and Unions," written by Benjamin D. Segal, Harry Fleischman and Joyce Lewis Kornbluh. The pamphlet notes the part that labor has played in combating communism. It describes the operation of various security programs noting that any worker becoming involved should consult with union officials for guidance and assistance. It creates the impression that actions of adjudicating officials are often arbitrary and not in accord with information available regarding the workers involved. It is not critical of the FBI. (Memo Stanley to Rosen, 6-7-56, 100-391697-A)

Segal is the Trade Union consultant to the Fund. He is currently directing educational programs with trade unions on civil liberties which are designed to advise union members their rights under the industrial security programs. It is noted that the Fund to date has spent \$30,195 toward this program. Segal has not been investigated by the FBI and is identified as a former organizer for the Socialist Party. In 1951 he was a member of the National Religious and Labor Foundation founded in 1932 by Jerome Davis, who has been identified as a member of the Communist Party in the 1920's. Bureau files failed to reflect any pertinent information concerning Kornbluh and/or Fleischman, who is the executive director of National Labor Services, New York City.

FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS IN AID

Association for Education and Journalism

The Fund has approved a grant of \$45,000 to the captioned association for a study during 1956-57 of the newspapers' presentation of news related to civil liberties. The study will be headed by Professor Kenneth R. Marvin, president of the association and head of the Department of Technical Journalism, Iowa State College. ("Editor and Publisher," June 29, 1953). (100-391697-A)

The files of this Bureau fail to reflect any derogatory information concerning the Association for Education and Journalism and Professor Kenneth R. Kerlin.

Television Programs

In December, 1954, the FED appropriated \$75,000 for awards for outstanding original drama and documentary scripts on civil liberties themes. The September 10, 1955, issue of the "Daily Worker," east coast communist newspaper, reported that the Fund had awarded 10 prizes for original television scripts in the drama and documentary class.

The July 2, 1955, issue of the "Daily Worker" reported that the Fund had stated it has made vigorous attempts to interest film, radio and television outlets in films and scripts dealing with civil liberties, but so far there are no buyers. Of the 10 scripts which won prizes in the Fund's competition held more than a year ago, the paper said, all but two were rejected for the screen, radio and television. According to the article, the Fund offered no explanation for the lack of success they were having with their scripts. (100-501637-A)

On 6-30-55 the Fund announced the second annual competition for Robert E. Sherwood awards for television programs dealing with freedom and justice. The awards were established last year in memory of Sherwood, a playwright who was a director of the Fund at the time of his death. They include \$20,000 each for the best network drama and best documentary program and \$15,000 for a production in either category on an independent station. (100-501637-A)

Fulton Lewis, Jr., advised Mr. Nichols on 7-12-56 that he has learned that the Fund has made a grant of \$20,500 to Karjorio Lewenthal (phonetic), who is a professor of sociology and had been at Columbia University and possibly at Stanford University. This grant was made to make a study of the selection of books and book censorship on the part of librarians. Lewis had no further details identifying Lewenthal.

Bureau files contain various references to a Karjorio Lewenthal but it is not possible to adequately identify her due to lack of sufficient background data furnished by Lewis. (100-501637-327)

The Bureau has obtained a copy of the Fund's "Three-Year Report," which reflects the activities of the Fund to C-25-58 and examination of this report reflects that the Fund has made approximately 24 grants to individuals and organizations, not previously mentioned. To check Bureau files on these grants would involve a considerable number of file reviews. Accordingly a sample of 16 names was taken to determine if the recipients of these grants have any derogatory background and whether there is any indication that the criticism of the Fund during the past year has affected its awarding of grants. Of the 16 grants selected 7 have been awarded during 1958. Our files show some derogatory information on 4 of them (one of which received a grant in 1956), identified as follows:

H. Kirk Reelofs, Cornell University, was awarded \$6,500 for completion of his book "An Essay on Citizenship." Reelofs in December, 1955, was placed on Bureau list of individuals not to be contacted in view of his past criticism of the Bureau. (62-32201-229)

Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, was awarded \$25,000 to underwrite in part the expenses of a 6-day conference on the essentials of freedom. The Bureau investigated this college in 1943 on the allegation a Fascist Party existed there. Our investigation failed to substantiate this allegation or reveal any un-American activities there. (100-74572)

John W. Caughey, University of California, at Los Angeles (UCLA) was awarded a grant (amount not specified) to complete a study of intellectual freedom in American colleges and universities since World War II. Bufiles show that in March, 1950, Caughey was one of UCLA's faculty members signing petitions against loyalty oaths. He made several speeches against such loyalty oaths and that year was ousted from his job. He, however, returned to UCLA in 1959. (116-421054)

Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York, was awarded \$29,000 in March, 1956, for a 2-year experimental program in civil liberties. This college has not been investigated by the Bureau; however, several members of its faculty have been subjects of security-type investigations. Our files show it has long been a controversial institution of learning because of its liberal educational policies and the wider

latitude in teaching afforded its faculty. Students under faculty guidance and as part of their curricular have participated in numerous front group activities and have frequently taken up the cause of racial minority groups. Various faculty members were called before the Jenner Committee in March, 1959. (100-356042)

Of the remaining 12 recipients of grants referred to above, Bureau files fail to reflect any derogatory information concerning them.

Audio Book Company, \$2,616 awarded March, 1950, to underwrite cost of albums on various topics (not specified).

Association for Education and Journalism, \$45,000 awarded March, 1956, for a study of press treatment of civil liberties to be made after 1956's national election.

Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church in the United States, \$15,000 awarded January, 1950, for educational work in racial and cultural relations.

Board of Social and Economic Relations, Methodist Church, \$25,000 awarded January, 1950, to support inter-racial conferences.

Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Church in the United States, \$15,000 awarded January, 1956, for educational work and racial and cultural relations.

Rev. Joseph Pichter, S. J., Loyola University, New Orleans, \$15,000 awarded for study of integration in New Orleans parochial schools.

Samuel H. Hofstadter, Justice, New York Supreme Court. The Fund distributed 10,000 copies of pamphlet "The Fifth Amendment and the Immunity Act of 1954," written by Hofstadter.

Charles F. Kellogg, Dickinson College. Awarded grant (amount not specified) to assist in the completion of a study of the NAACP.

Robert A. Lefflar, University of Arkansas, was awarded grant (amount not specified) to complete treatise on legal liability in the exercise of free speech.

Clark F. Horton, DePaul University, received award (amount not specified) for a study of loyalty-security measures employed by municipal government in the North Central States.

Religious Drawings, Inc., (Jack Hamm, President), Waco, Texas, \$2,000 awarded March, 1956, to finance free distribution of cartoons dealing with religion and segregation.

School of Librarianship of the University of California, \$25,000 awarded March, 1956, for a study of book selection in California public and school libraries.

In addition to the above-mentioned grants reflected in the Fund's "Three-Year Report," released to the public on June 22, 1956, the following individuals and organizations were also given grants-in-aid as indicated by the Fund's report. In view of the results of the sampling of grants as indicated above and the fact that checking Bureau files on the remaining individuals and organizations would involve a considerable number of extensive file checks, no attempt is being made at this time to review Bureau files concerning the following named grants. It is noted that the Fund's "Three-Year Report" has been completely indexed and that the names of the individuals and organizations who have received grants from the Fund and not previously mentioned by it are also identified in this revision of the running memoranda.

Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith.

\$5,000 awarded to help pay traveling expenses of representatives from Southern schools to attend a South-Wide Conference on Human Relations Education in Cooperation with the University of Oklahoma, in June, 1956.

\$7,500 awarded to finance the cost of two regional staff members (unidentified) of the League assigned the task of directing the League's participation in the Freedom Agenda Program.

National Urban League.

\$50,000 awarded for the development of a two-year educational program to expand employment opportunities for Negroes in the South.

Philadelphia Fellowship Commission.

\$2,000 awarded to finance distribution of "For Fair Play," a one-half hour film about discrimination against Negroes in industry made under the sponsorship of the Governor's Commission on Industrial Race Relations of Pennsylvania.

Catholic Committee of the South.

\$15,000 awarded to establish interracial institutes to study the area of tensions in the South and to publish and distribute their findings. Spring Hill College in Spring Hill, Alabama, has received \$2,000 from the Committee for the first of these institutes.

Student Department of the National Board of the Young Men's Christian Association.

\$20,000 awarded to enlarge efforts to provide counsel and assistance on Southern campuses facing problems growing out of the Supreme Court's decision on school integration.

College and University Division of the Young Women's Christian Association.

\$20,000 granted to enlarge their efforts to provide counsel and assistance on Southern campuses facing problems growing out of the Supreme Court's decision on school integration.

Community Division of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association.

\$5,000 awarded to enable it to work with community YWCA's near "test case" colleges or campuses where special problems exist. (Apparently referring to integration problems.)

Department of Christian Social Relations of the United Church Women.

\$10,000 awarded to support 50 workshops in communities where there are special difficulties in race relationships.

Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention.

\$15,000 awarded to support interracial programs working toward the easing of racial tensions in the North and South.

National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

\$25,000 awarded to support interracial programs working toward the easing of racial tensions in the North and South.

United Christian Missionary Society of the Disciples of Christ.

\$15,000 awarded to support interracial programs working toward the easing of racial tensions in the North and South.

American Veterans of World War II.

\$5,255 awarded to assist in their participation in the Freedom Agenda Program.

Women's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church.

\$8,000 awarded to provide material, including Freedom Agenda pamphlets, for its regional workshops on civil liberties.

National Council of the YMCA.

Awarded total of \$6,000. \$1,000 of the grant enabled the YMCA to commission Saville Davis, American news editor of the Christian Science Monitor, to prepare a paper on freedom of inquiry entitled "Toward Freedom and Security." A second grant of \$5,000 was used by the YMCA to underwrite a printing of 10,000 copies of Mr. Davis' article in pamphlet form.

General Work in Television and Radio.

\$195,221 expended by the Fund to date for the following specific activities:

"Challenge," a project designed by Forthington Minor to be a network series of one-half hour programs on current problems in civil liberties, presented in dramatic fictional form;

"Integration in St. Louis," a documentary film showing how St. Louis successfully met the problem of desegregation of its schools;

"A Date with Liberty," a series of five minute films produced by Cassyd-Booth film in Hollywood on subjects taken from Justice William O. Douglas' book, "An Almanac of Liberty;"

"Al Capp," Al Capp made a number of pilot films for a projected series of 15 minute commentaries on current events. The series was abandoned by the Fund because it proved impossible to arrive at an acceptable format;

The Fund provided funds (amount not stated) to permit Paul Coates, East Coast television producer of the series "Confidential File," to expand a television study of "Daytime Whites," Negroes who pass as whites during working hours because of job discrimination;

The assistance of the Fund helped CBS-KHX News at Los Angeles to do a radio series on racial discrimination in Los Angeles called "Minority Report."

American Friends Service Committee (AFSC).

\$8,000 awarded to assist the AFSC with its recorded programs on civil liberties for rural radio stations and school systems. Edwin Randall is in charge of these programs.

The Newsfilm Project.

\$65,000 expended by the Fund to date on a project originated in September, 1955, for the purpose of providing motion picture reports of events of interest in civil liberties or race relations to television and network news editors all over the U.S. at no cost, to be used at their discretion. George Martin, West Coast NBC news producer is director of this project.

Conspectus of Civil Liberties.

\$10,000 expended by the Fund to support the completion of Robert E. Cushman's book, "National Security and the American Tradition," and his preparation of an account of the state of civil liberties today, entitled "Civil Liberties in the U.S.; Guide to Current Problems and Experience." 5,000 copies of a paperback edition of the first-mentioned book have been printed by Cornell University Press for distribution by the Fund.

The Institute of Social Order, St. Louis University.

\$10,000 awarded to sponsor a national essay contest on "The Alert Citizen and Civil Liberties," for political science majors in all American colleges. The contest is managed by Rev. Francis J. Corley, S.J., of St. Louis University.

American University Bureau of Social Science Research.

\$15,000 awarded in August, 1955, to permit the Bureau to analyze statistical material obtained from questionnaires circulated by the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights in the course of an investigation by the Committee of the present state of rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

Fellowship and Grant-In-Aid Program

The Fund in its "Three-Year Report" states that it has expended \$204,543 in its Grant-In-Aid Program established in November, 1954, for the purpose of exploring areas into which the Fund is not prepared to move on a large scale. Professor Robert E. Cushman of Cornell University was appointed the Fund's consultant on the program and has passed on all fellowship applications.

The Fund's report identifies the following recipients under the program who have not been previously mentioned by the Fund:

Benjamin Aaron, University of California at Los Angeles, for a study of the impact of loyalty-security programs on unions.

Sir Gerald Barry, University of California at Los Angeles, to direct a weekly series of television seminars on civil liberties.

Eleanor Bontecou, Arlington, Virginia, to assist in the preparation of the book on the opinions of Judge Henry E. Clinton.

William C. Fredbury, University of Chicago, for research on racial discrimination and desegregation in Federal Government employment.

James H. Dabbs, Keyesville, South Carolina, to write a book on the South, with particular reference to its racial question.

David Fellman, University of Wisconsin, to write a nontechnical book on the whole field of American civil liberties.

James Fox, American University, to do a study on the Virginia clergy and its stand on the desegregation issue.

Ernesto Galarza, San Jose, California, for a report on the civil and legal rights problems of Mexican contract workers in the Southwest.

Jack Greenberg, New York City, for a study of the legal status of the Negro in the United States.

Ralph Guzman, Alianza Hispano-Americana, to investigate and report on cases handled by Immigration authorities involving the loss of U. S. citizenship of Mexican-Americans.

David Helfeld, University of Puerto Rico, for a study of the use of political beliefs as a test in determining the status of aliens.

John Herling, John Herling's Labor Letter, for a study of civil liberties in the South, with emphasis on the possible restrictions on the freedom of speech and assembly of trade unions.

Ellis J. Horvitz, Los Angeles, California, for a comparative study of the personnel security procedures in some of the Western democracies.

Marie Jahoda, New York University, for a book on the psychological influences which contribute to conformity or non-conformity on civil liberty matters.

Rabbi Aaron Kirschenbaum, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, for research costs incurred in preparing a source book on Biblical and rabbinical teachings as related to civil liberties and civil rights.

Herbert M. Levy, New York City, to prepare a study on post-conviction remedies, entitled "Justice-After Trial-to Persons Convicted of Crime."

George McMillan, Aiken, South Carolina, for a report on the extent of conformity in the community surrounding the Savannah River Atomic Energy Plant.

Arthur S. Miller, Emory University, for a study of the legal aspects of desegregating church schools in states where integration is resisted.

James Peck, Beverly Hills, California, for a book dealing with the character of the Southerner as disclosed in recent events in Mississippi.

Arnold A. Rogow, State University of Iowa, for a study on the state of civil liberties in Iowa, with special reference to proposed loyalty oaths.

Victor G. Rosenblum, University of California, to prepare a paper or a series of articles on "The Constitutional Concept of State Action," in relation to due process and equal protection of the laws.

Dean Eugene V. Rostow, Yale Law School, to provide research assistance for an article on "Cases in Personnel Security."

Francis E. Bourke, Johns Hopkins University, for research costs involved in the preparation of an article or articles on "The Publicity Sanction and Civil Liberties."

Philip Selznick, University of California and Paul Jacobs, for a study of due process in industrial organizations, especially trade unions.

Charles A. Siepmann, New York University, to finance a study of the organizational structure of the American Civil Liberties Union.

David Spitz, Ohio State University, for a book entitled "Democracy and the Tyranny of the Majority Rule."

Distribution of Materials

The Fund's "Three-Year Report" reflects that to date the Fund has expended \$113,554 for the distribution of literature and other materials. The Fund's report identifies the distribution of the following materials not previously mentioned by it:

Five hundred copies of a book by Charles P. Curtis, entitled "The Oppenheimer Case."

Five thousand copies of the October, 1955, issue of the publication "Current History."

Fifty thousand copies of an article entitled "The Landy Case" by George E. Sokolsky, appearing in the "Saturday Review."

Five thousand copies of an article entitled "The Way to Be Safe Is Never to Be Secure" by Charles P. Curtis, appearing in the "Saturday Review."

Thirty-five thousand copies of an article by Chief Justice Earl Warren entitled "The Law and the Future," appearing in Fortune magazine.

Two hundred and seventy copies of a pamphlet issued by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and the New York Civil Liberties Union, entitled "If You Are Arrested."

Two hundred and sixty copies of a book entitled "The Birth of the Bill of Rights 1776-1791" by Robert Allen Rutland.

One thousand copies of a book entitled "The Challenge of Law Reform" by Arthur T. Vanderbilt, Chief Justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court.

Twenty-five thousand copies of a lecture entitled "Freedom of Inquiry vs. Authority: Some Legal Aspects" by Joseph O'Heara, Dean of Notre Dame University Law School.

Three thousand copies of a speech entitled "Formation of the Massachusetts Constitution" by Samuel Eliot Morison.

Fifteen thousand copies of an article entitled "Open Occupancy Housing" author not indicated, taken from the publication House and Home.

Two thousand copies of a pamphlet entitled "Memorandum on School Integration" prepared by the National Civil Liberties Clearing House.

Two hundred and ninety copies of a book entitled "Prejudice and Your Child" by Kenneth D. Clark.

Two hundred copies of a book entitled "The Strange Career of Jim Crow" by C. Vann Woodward.

Two hundred and eighty copies of a book entitled "The Fears Men Live By" by Selma Hirsh.

One hundred and sixty copies of a book entitled "Citizen's Guide to De-Segregation" by Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg.

One Hundred and twenty-five copies of a book entitled "Human Relations in Inter-Racial Housing" by Wilner, Walkley and Cook.

One thousand copies of a booklet entitled "Racial Integration in Public Housing Projects in Connecticut" by the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights.

Twenty-five hundred copies of a March, 1956, issue of "Annals" a quarterly journal of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Ten thousand copies of a pamphlet entitled "The Segregation Decisions" containing speeches of William Faulkner, Benjamin Mays and Cecil Sims before the Southern Historical Association.

Twenty thousand copies of a catalogue entitled "An Exhibition of Books Which Have Survived Fire, the Sword and the Censors," reporting an exhibition by the University of Kansas Library.

The "Censorship Bulletin" a quarterly publication of the American Book Publishers Council.

Nine hundred and thirty copies of the Autumn 1955 issue of "Law and Contemporary Problems" a journal of Duke University Law School.

Ten thousand copies of an article entitled "Tom Paine Talks Back to Providence" by Henry Steele Commager published in the "Saturday Review."

One thousand copies of a book entitled "The Development of Academic Freedom in the U. S." by Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger.

Five thousand copies of a book entitled "The Freedom Reader" by Edwin S. Redman.

Five thousand copies of a book entitled "On Liberty," by John Stuart Mill.

Fifty thousand copies of a pamphlet entitled "Famous Words of Freedom" issued by Freedom House.

Five thousand copies of a speech entitled "This Thing Called Freedom" by David L. Chillinglaw, past commander of the Illinois Department of the American Legion, to Western College for Women, Oxford, Ohio.

Five hundred and fifty copies of a book entitled "Profiles in Courage" by Senator John F. Kennedy.

Fifty thousand copies of a Department of Defense pamphlet entitled "Who Are Communists and Why?"

Five thousand copies of a book entitled "Civil Liberties in the U.S.; A Guide to Current Problems and Experience" by Robert E. Cushman.

Six hundred copies of a booklet entitled "Freedom Award" containing speeches at the annual Freedom House Award dinner given by Lewis W. Douglas, Edward R. Murrow, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche and Whitney North Seymour.

Twenty thousand copies of a booklet entitled "Social Science and Freedom" containing radio lectures held under the auspices of the Social Science Research Center of the University of Minnesota.

Ten thousand copies of the 1955 Annual Report of the American Civil Liberties Union entitled "Clearing the Main Channels"

Other Grants

The "Three-Year Report" of the Fund for the Republic reflects that it has given additional grants to various organizations and individuals not previously mentioned by it. They are noted as follows:

Special Features, Inc.

\$3,438 awarded for a weekly cartoon feature entitled "It's Your America" on the subject of American liberty, for free distribution to weekly and smaller daily newspapers which request the feature.

American Tradition Project

\$3,675 awarded in April, 1956, to journalists Leo Rosten and Michael Harrington, to collect and publicize instances of the successful application of the Bill of Rights to present-day situations.

Bureau of National Affairs

In February, 1955, the Fund awarded \$18,300 to the Bureau of National Affairs to purchase 100 copies of a proposed looseleaf service for lawyers on government security and loyalty programs and to underwrite the cost of 600 additional copies. Nathan H. David and John Green, Washington lawyers, served as consultants to the Bureau for the preparation of the service which was put on the market in August, 1955.

Grants to Local Bar Associations

In February, 1955, the Fund granted \$5,000 to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., to undertake an experimental program of representation for defendants in civil liberties cases. An additional \$15,000 was granted by the Fund to this association to provide legal representation in security cases. In addition \$10,000 was granted by the Fund to the Toledo (Ohio) Bar Association for the defense of security cases.

University of Virginia

\$3,500 awarded for summer research by 3rd year law students on civil liberties topics in the field of municipal law.

University of Pennsylvania

\$5,610 awarded for a summer research program of selected civil liberties topics.

Commission on Mass Media

\$4,442 expended by the Fund to explore the feasibility of establishing an independent agency which would report annually on the performance of the press and other mass media. To date no such commission has been established.

Fund Bulletin

In March, 1950, the Directors of the Fund authorized periodic publication of a bulletin to acquaint the general public with the Fund and the work undertaken by Fund grants. The first issue was published in May, 1950.

PART IV

CURRENT ACTIVITIES AND FUTURE PLANS (October 1, 1956 To December 31, 1956)

CURRENT STUDIES AND PROJECTS

American Traditions Project

The Fund for the Republic in its September, 1956, bulletin stated that it has established an American Traditions Project to dramatize incidents illustrating how the good sense of Americans has prevailed in our daily lives, particularly in conflicts or disputes which may never have reached the headlines. According to the Fund, the project offers \$10,000 in prizes for letters reporting "true stories about groups or individuals who successfully stood up for the right to think and read freely and to follow the dictates of conscience or who have applied the Bill of Rights to human situations in the face of considerations of expediency." Thirteen prizes are offered from a first prize of \$2,500 down to ten of \$100 each. In addition, an amount equal to each prize will be donated to any tax-exempt, charitable, educational or religious organization designated by the winner. The Fund stated further details would be announced later. (100-391697-428)

Study of Influence in American Life

David A. Shannon, 106 Morningside Drive, New York City, a professor at Columbia University, advised the Bureau by letter 9/20/56 that he was writing a history of the Communist Party from 1945 to date under a grant from the Fund for the Republic. He requested information regarding the Communist Party underground and other activities to be used in his study. The Bureau, by letter 10/5/56, advised him we were unable to assist. It is noted that Shannon previously wrote to the Bureau on 3/16/56 to inform us he was writing this history. (100-391697-427)

FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS-IN-AID

Dr. Robert D. North of New York City, a specialist in educational and psychological measurement, stated on 11/26/56 that there is no available scientific evidence to prove that American Negroes, as a group, are innately inferior in intelligence to white persons. Dr. North stated that whatever lag exists between Negroes and whites in intelligence may very well be due to environmental and not hereditary differences. North's comments were in a report financed by the Fund made public on 11/26/56 at the annual meeting of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. (Washington City News Service 11/26/56, 62-101087-A) Bufiles fail to reflect any pertinent information identifiable with North.

According to the 11/27/56 issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald," Mary Knowles, a librarian at a Quaker-operated library at Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury on 11/26/56 for refusing to answer questions about past communist affiliations while testifying before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on July 29 and September 15, 1955. On both occasions she denied Communist Party membership or affiliation for many years with organizations on the Attorney General's subversive list. She had also pleaded 5th Amendment before the Subcommittee in 1953. (100-391697-A)

It is noted that in June, 1955, the Fund awarded \$5,000 to the Plymouth Meeting Library in recognition of its "courageous and effective defense of democratic principles" in employing Mrs. Knowles and refusing to fire her in spite of her refusal to answer Congressional questions.

Referral/Consult

Bureau files reflect that Frantz is the subject of a security-type investigation closed during February, 1956. Investigation developed he was reportedly a member of the Communist Party in the late 1930's to late 1940's. During recent years, he and his wife (also a former Communist Party member) have been active in front groups and associated with communists. He was interviewed by Bureau agents in June, 1950, and stated that he was not in sympathy with the program involving the investigation of a man's political affiliations. He was also active in the National Lawyers Guild (cited by the HCUA) during 1954 and 1955. He was the attorney who wrote the Amicus Curia Brief in opposition to the Internal Security Act of 1950 and filed this brief with the United States Supreme Court in September, 1955.

The San Francisco Division, by teletype 10/10/56, advised that their files fail to reflect any employment of Frantz by the Fund; that he was employed by Bancroft Whitney, a law book firm, in San Francisco and resided at Berkeley, California. The teletype reflected that Frantz was scheduled to speak before the National Lawyers Guild banquet on 10/12/56 at San Francisco, California. (100-20023)

PART IV

CURRENT ACTIVITIES AND FUTURE PLANS

(January 1, 1957 to March 31, 1957)

CURRENT STUDIES AND PROJECTS

American Traditions Project

According to the 2/10/57 issue of the Washington "Evening Star," three Area residents are among the winners in the Fund for the Republic's \$10,000 American Traditions Project. The three winners are: David Koonce and L. Edgar Fries, employees of the "Star" and Stanley Field, Chief of Production for the Radio-Television Branch of the Army who lives in Arlington, Virginia. The article stated that additional winners would be announced at a later date.

The American Traditions Project was designed to collect true stories about groups or individuals who successfully stood up for the rights to think and read freely and who followed the dictates of conscience or who applied the Bill of Rights to human situations in the face of considerations of "expediency." Each winner of a cash prize may designate a tax-exempt charitable institution to receive a sum to be given in his name equal to the amount of his winning.

Recent summaries concerning the above-named prize winners may be found in Bufile 100-391697-454.

Additional prize winners in the Fund's American Traditions Project were announced by the Fund on 2/22/57 at a banquet held at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C. These winners are: John B. Orr, Jr., Miami, Florida; Ann Harr and Bessie Dick, Akron, (Ohio) waitresses; Hazel Brannon Smith, editor of the Lexington (Mississippi) "Advertiser; Dr. Gertrude S. Sladek, 2940 28th Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C.; and William Korey, 1915 East-West Highway, Silver Spring, Maryland.

Bruce Catton, a member of the Fund's board, spoke at the banquet, at which time he assailed the Government's restriction on information as "excessive" and added that this restriction was among present-day "threats to liberty."

Up-to-date summaries regarding the above-named prize winners may be found in Bufile 100-391697-455.

A recent summary regarding Catton is contained in Bufile 121-12554-26.

Commission on Rights and Liberties of American Indians

The Fund on 3/24/57 announced the establishment of the above-named commission to promote better understanding of the rights and responsibilities of the American Indians under a \$100,000 grant authorized on 9/15/55. The commission will be headed by O. Meredith Wilson, president of the University of Oregon. He will be assisted by Charles A. Sprague, publisher of the "Oregon Statesman"; Karl Llewellyn, Professor of Jurisprudence, University of Chicago; Arthur H. Schlesinger, Sr., Professor Emeritus of History, Harvard University; and W. W. Keeler, vice-president and general manager of Phillips Petroleum and Chief of the Cherokee Nation. ("Daily Worker," 3/25/57; 100-301637-A)

Recent summaries concerning the above-named individuals may be found in Bufile 100-301637-457.

Study of Communist Influences in Major Segments of U.S. Society

The January 11, 1957, issue of "Counterattack," reported that the Viking Press has announced that it will publish in March, 1957, a book entitled "The Roots of American Communism," by Theodore Draper, under sponsorship of the Fund for the Republic. The book is the first in a series of books (ten in all) being written under a project headed by Professor Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University. The total project is entitled "Study of Communist Influences in Major Segments of U. S. Society." Draper's book had been previously listed as a "History of the Communist Party in the United States (1919-1945)." Central Research Section is obtaining a copy of this book for review. (100-350512-726)

Regarding the above, the "New York Daily News" in an editorial entitled "FDR Fluffs Again," dated 3/17/57, stated that Draper's book has now been released by the Viking Press. According to the editorial, the book, though well written and thoroughly documented, glorified a lot of Americans who fell for communism during or soon after World War I. More significant, the book offers the theory that most early U. S. communists originally were genuine, sincere, all-wool American radicals of various kinds--Populists, trade unionists, Bryan Democrats and so on. As such, one gathers, they merit our sympathy and respect. Their big mistake, says Draper, was to let the Russian Reds take them over and turn them into just another cog in the Kremlin's world-wide communist machine. The implication of all this is that if the present day U. S. Reds would only declare their independence of Moscow, they, too, would merit our sympathy and respect.

The editorial states that by a strange coincidence Draper's book was published on the same day that the U. S. Communist Party made public its new constitution, claiming to have cut itself loose from the Kremlin. Many newspapers published this without comment and, according to the editorial, a lot of Americans will be taken in by it. This dangerous deception will be bolstered by the Draper book, the editorial adds, and further the "Fund for the Republic appears to have fluffed again, and to have given American communism yet another boost while claiming to be combatting it." (100-391697-A)

FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS-IN-AID

Association of the Bar of the City of New York

[redacted] advised the Bureau on 1/31/57 that he had received confidential information to the effect that [redacted] a representative of the New York State Bar, would make an inquiry into passport procedures at the Department of State for the Fund for the Republic. He will be assisted by one [redacted] (100-391697-449)

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Up-to-date summaries of information in Bufiles regarding Olmstead and Workum may be found in Bufile 128-4678-20 and 100-391697-452, respectively.

Regarding the above, Washington Field Office by airtel February 5, 1957, advised that [redacted] House Committee on Un-American Activities, on February 5, 1957, furnished same information as did [redacted] added, however, that [redacted] would be assisted by another attorney named [redacted] of the New York City Bar and that Adrian Fisher (former General Counsel, Department of State) was asked to be on this committee but so far has made no reply. (100-391697-450)

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Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches (CSACCC)

The "Washington City News Service" on 1/28/57 reported that Representative Gordon H. Scherer accused the Council for Social Action, an agency of the General Council of Congregational Churches, of trying to force the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) to call off its investigation of the Fund for the Republic. The Congressman charged that Ray Gibbons, director of the Council for Social Action, in an exchange of letters with him, threatened to use the voting power of the church groups against individual members of the Committee unless the investigation was halted.

A summary of Bufiles regarding Ray Gibbons and the CSACCC may be found in Bufile 62-103296-18.

According to the "Three-Year Report" distributed by the Fund for the Republic in June, 1956, it has given the CSACCC \$20,000 to aid the discussion of civil liberties among its members. In addition, \$31,400 was given by the Fund to the CSACCC to support a two-year program in race relations in Virginia and North Carolina. (100-391697-400 encl. p.23,40)

University of Iowa

According to the March, 1957, issue of "Right," a monthly newsletter of, by and for the "American Rightwing," published by Bradford Martin, San Francisco, California, the Fund for the Republic has awarded \$4600 to the University of Iowa for a study of "patriotism." The study which is headed by Ralph E. Ellsworth, Director of Libraries at the University will include a bibliography of all "rightwing" groups.

Bufiles reflect that Ellsworth by letter 11/27/56 advised that since 1945 he has been building up a bibliography of Fascist organizations under a small grant from the FRF. Until very recently he has not made any effort to gather material from the communists to get their side of the picture. He has written the Communist Party regarding this material but has received no reply. He states he wants the FBI to know he's contacting the communists and why and has offered his files to the Bureau. The Bureau by let 12/4/56 to Ellsworth advised that we could be of no assistance to him and suggested that he refer any pertinent information he may develop to our Omaha Office. It is noted that the Omaha and New York Offices have been asked to be on the lookout for Ellsworth's contemplated book and to furnish it to the Bureau immediately. (94-1-11230-400)

OTHER GRANTS

The Fund in its Bulletin of January, 1957, states that the three and a half years' experience of the Fund in the field of civil liberties has emphasized what is perhaps a truism: that the really basic issues involved are those of fact-finding or of publicity. The Fund stated further that it "does not attempt to influence legislation, and, it is not its function or its policy to intervene directly in civil liberties cases (as does the American Civil Liberties Union, for example) to furnish counsel or offer amicus curiae briefs. But it has

supported, or helped to support, numerous special studies by law schools and bar groups; its fellowship grants have assisted individual legal scholars; it has tried to awaken a greater interest among lawyers generally in the legal aspects of the more significant civil liberties problems of the time."

Fund then proceeded to enumerate the individual grants which they have made for legal studies, all of which have previously come to the Bureau's attention with the exception of the following:

Bar Association of St. Louis Foundation,

\$47,000 to sponsor open forum TV programs on civil liberties subjects.

Pennsylvania Bar Association Endowment,

\$40,000 for a study of the rights of privacy as affected by law enforcement methods.

American Bar Foundation,

\$25,430 for a study by the Special Committee on Individual Rights as affected by National Security of the American Bar Association of the procedures of Congressional investigating committees. (100-391697-448)

Book Contest

According to the "Daily Worker" of 1/7/57, the American Library Association, Chicago, Illinois, announced a contest with awards totaling \$30,000 for books published in 1956 and 1957 which make "distinguished contributions to the American tradition of liberty and justice." Awards for books published in 1956 will be made on 4/25/57. The time and place of awards for books appearing this year will be announced at a later date. The awards are made possible through a grant from the Fund for the Republic. (100-391697-A)

Television Programs

On 11/2/56, an informant who has furnished reliable information in the past made available a copy of a letter written by Herbert Biberman to Seymour Baskind, of New York City on 8/12/54. Biberman stated that he had been negotiating with the Fund for the Republic regarding the movie "Salt of the Earth" and Hallock Hoffman, assistant to the Fund's president, suggested that the Fund might be able to televise the movie on a national hookup that fall. The informant advised that no subsequent information had come to his attention to indicate any further negotiations between the Fund and Biberman.

The film "Salt of the Earth," highly criticized as communist propaganda, was produced in 1954 by Herbert Biberman, Michael Wilson and Paul Jarrico who were identified as having been affiliated with the Communist Party by several witnesses testifying before the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities as noted in the Committee's 1952 Annual Report. (LA 3512-S; 100-399257-181)

According to the 2/19/57 issue of the "Daily Worker," a documentary film about racial integration entitled "A City Decides" produced under a grant from the Fund for the Republic will be televised nationally on 2/23/57 in New York City. The film portrays integration in the public school system of St. Louis, Missouri. (100-391697-A)

The above film appears to be identical with a documentary film entitled "Integration in St. Louis," which, according to the Fund's "Three-Year Report," released on 6/22/56, shows how successfully St. Louis met the problem of desegregation in its schools. This film was produced by Fleishman Hilliard, Inc., 407 North 8th Street, St. Louis, Missouri. Bufiles fail to reflect any pertinent information concerning this corporation. (100-391697-435, pages 40, 42, 82, 85)

SPECIAL AWARDS

William Jeanes Memorial Library Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania

The captioned library on 6/22/55 received a \$5000 award from the Fund for its "courageous and effective defense of democratic principles," for hiring and refusing to fire Mary G. Knowles, a librarian, who previously refused to discuss past CP activities while testifying before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1953 and 1955. (100-391697-146)

According to the 1/11/57 "Washington Post and Times Herald," Mrs. Mary Knowles, a librarian in the Quaker community of Plymouth, Meeting, Pennsylvania, was found guilty on 1/10/57 by the U. S. District Court, Washington, D. C., on 52 counts of contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions concerning past CP affiliations. She was permitted to remain free under a \$500 bond pending a presentence investigation.

According to the 1/18/57 "Washington Star," Mrs. Knowles that day was sentenced in the District Court, Washington, D. C., to serve 120 days in jail and pay \$500 fine for contempt of Congress. She was allowed to remain free under a \$500 bond pending appeal.

The "Washington Star," on 1/25/57 reported that Mrs. Knowles has been retained in her job at the Plymouth Meeting Library and will be given a salary raise of \$200, making her pay \$3,400 a year. The board of the Quaker-operated William Jeane's Memorial Library said on 1/24/57 it wanted to "restate our confidence in Mrs. Knowles."
(100-201007-1)

PART IV

CURRENT ACTIVITIES AND FUTURE PLANS (April 1 to June 30, 1957)

CURRENT STUDIES AND PROJECTS

Free Society Project

According to the 6/14/57 issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald," the FFR has announced that it has enlisted 10 distinguished Americans in a 7-million-dollar search for the definition of a free society and a means to maintain it. The 10 consultants, who will study contemporary American life to determine the conditions under which a free society best may be maintained are: Adolph A. Berle, former Assistant Secretary of State; Henry R. Luce, editor and publisher; Woott Buchanan, former dean of St. John's College; Eugene Purdick, assistant political science professor at the University of California; Eric Goldman, Princeton University history professor; Clark Kerr, chancellor of the University of California; Rev. John Courtney Murray, theology professor at Woodstock College, Md.; Isidor I. Rabi, physicist; Robert Redfield, University of Chicago anthropologist; and Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Protestant theologian.

A brief summary of information in Bufiles concerning the above-named individuals may be found in Bufile 100-391637.

Project to Clarify Panic Government Issues

Mr. Tolson's memo to the Director dated May 16, 1957, reflects Mr. Tracy furnished a copy of a letter addressed to Mr. Richard Conba, in care of the Committee on Government Security, from William H. Edman, Security Officer of the University of California, dated April 3, 1957.

The letter reflects Edman had obtained from "Purdick's file" (believed to be Eugene Leonard Purdick, professor of the Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, California), a letter dated March 27, 1957, from Walter Willis to Purdick, which outlines the purposes of a project that Purdick had in mind when he accepted a consultant-ship with the Fund for the Republic.

Walter Willis' letter states it is "a project to clarify the basic issues raised by Government, considered as an institution to provide for the common defense in respect to individual freedom."

The "Consultants Specially Responsible" will be Dr. Rabi and Mr. Furdick (identified above); the liaison directors, Senator Lehman and President Cole, the Staff Assistant, Walter Willis. These individuals are believed to be Charles W. Cole, president of Amherst College, and an FFR director since December, 1952; Herbert H. Lehman, former Governor of New York and former U.S. Senator; Walter Willis, author and journalist and a consultant for the FFR; Isidor Isaac Rabi, physicist and chairman of the General Advisory Committee, Atomic Energy Commission and a consultant of the Research and Development Board. A current summary of these individuals will be found in Bufile 100-331697-465, 466.

This project is proposed to initiate work in five areas:

(1) A survey of the minimum requirements of the national defense, the unavoidable necessities in terms of military measures, civil defense, defenses against subversion, against espionage and sabotage, governmental secrecy, etc.

(2) A survey of the impact on individual freedom of military manpower policies - the Draft and Reserve Acts, deferment, educational measures, etc.

(3) A survey of the problem of sedition, of the legal, statutory and other measures directed toward its suppression, their practical and historical backgrounds and their impact upon individual freedom.

(4) A survey of governmental secrecy and of counter-espionage activities of police and intelligence agencies from the point of view of their necessity, efficiency and their impact on individual freedom.

(5) A review of the extensive work already in existence on the system of personnel security screening.
(100-331697-464)

Study of Communist Influence in Major Segments
of U. S. Society

In March, 1957, the Viking Press announced the publication of a book entitled "The Roots of American Communism," by Theodore Draper, under the sponsorship of the Fund for the Republic. This book purports to reflect a history of the Communist Party in the U. S.

A copy of the above-mentioned book was obtained and reviewed by the Central Research Section. Pursuant to Mr. Nichols' instructions, a summary of the review reflecting the defects in the book was furnished to the individuals who previously received a copy of the Bureau's monograph on the Fund for the Republic. These are: the Commissioner, Internal Revenue Service (by Exlet 4/16/57); and by Exlet 4/16/57 to the Attorney General, Deputy Attorney General Rogers, and Attorney General Tompkins, Olney, and Rice. (100-301637-450, 451, 452)

FELLOWSHIP AND GRANTS-IN-AID

American Veterans of World War II
and Korea (AMVETS)

The 5/31/57 issue of the "Washington Post" contained a letter to the editor written by Martin D. Schwartz, Chairman, AMVETS Americanism Division, in which he states that the AMVETS are now conducting a nationwide "Positive Americanism" program under a grant from the Fund for the Republic.

Schwartz stated that the AMVETS feel there has been too much accent placed on "what's wrong with America" and they propose to show what's "right" with America. The "Positive Americanism" program, he stated, is simply an examination of our heritage as derived from our famous documents and the ideas of great Americans and how that heritage gives meaning to our present. Schwartz added there will be no witch-hunting, no flag-waving, and no name-calling. "Positive Americanism" seeks only knowledge and understanding, he said. (100-301637-A)

Exfiles fail to reflect any information identifiable with Schwartz.

General Council of the Congregational
Christian Churches (GCCCC)

According to the 5/1/57 issue of the "Firing Line," a publication prepared and distributed by the American Legion

National American Commission, the CCCCC at its national assembly at Omaha, Nebraska, from June 20-27, 1956, adopted certain Social Resolutions which attacked important provisions of both Federal and State internal security programs. "Firing Line" stated these resolutions closely parallel the position taken by the Fund for the Republic. Briefly, the resolutions criticized loyalty hearing procedures, loyalty oaths, the listing of organizations as subversives, and the blacklisting from employment individuals with prior subversive connections.

File 62-103036-10 reflects a recent summary concerning the CCCCC, which to date has received grants totalling \$51,480 from the FBI. (100-301637-49) and p. 43, 49)

Pennsylvania Bar Association Nationalism (PBAF)

The Bureau has learned that the Executive Committee, Pennsylvania Bar Association, was asked to sponsor a nationwide study of wire tapping with a \$40,000 endowment provided by the Fund for the Republic. This resulted in the formation of the PBAF, headed by Samuel Dash, former acting District Attorney, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania. Other members of the PBAF are: Robert E. Appleton, associate director; Robert E. Crockett, Chairman, and William Morse Brown and Aaron M. Schwartz, Jr., Committee Members. Dash has already sent out circular letters to private investigators re this matter. Summary on Dash is reflected in Bufile 62-103016-3.

The Bureau by SAC Letter 57-10, dated April 2, 1957, alerted the field offices to the activities of the PBAF and instructed that no information be furnished to this group and to promptly advise the Bureau upon receiving any information concerning it. The General Investigative Intelligence Unit of the Investigative Division is closely following this matter. (62-103016-3)

SEGREGATION IN THE SOUTH

Segregation in the South

According to the 5/20/57 issue of the "Daily Worker," the American Broadcasting Company will devote an hour television program on 6/16/57 to a survey of segregation in the South. The study - prepared by the Fund for the Republic - will examine the effects of the U. S. Supreme Court ruling on school integration in the three years since it was announced. (100-301637-A)

The above survey apparently is the one completed by David Lott and Harold Fleming, entitled "Integration: North and South," as announced by the FBI in October, 1956. The details of this survey and a summary of our files concerning Lott and Fleming may be found in Bufile 100-551037-402 and Part G, page 61 of this memorandum.

Television Series

According to the June 23, 1957, issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald," the FBI on that date had announced that the Columbia Broadcasting System had awarded the \$20,000 Robert E. Sherwood television series for programs dealing with freedom and justice. The programs named were "Clinton and the Law," produced on the "See It Now" series; and the "Island in the City," produced on the "Clinton" series. The series were made for the Post Independent and Grand programs, respectively, under a grant previously announced by the FBI on January 29, 1956. (100-551037-4; 100-551037-520, 521, 522)

PART IV

Current Activities and Future Plans

(July 1 to Sept. 30, 1957)

Current Studies and Projects

Basic Issues Program

The previous revision of this memorandum under the section "Current Studies and Projects" listed two projects which were identified as the "Free Society Project" and the "Project to Clarify Basic Government Issues." (Part IV, pg. 122) It has since been determined that these are both part of one program which is being called the "basic issues" program by the FFI.

Pg. 3 of the 7-15-57 issue of the "Daily Worker" and pg. A-2 of the "Washington Post and Times Herald" of 7-15-57 carried articles reflecting that the FFI had thus far announced 3 projects under its "basic issues" program.

The 3 projects are as follows:

1. The Corporation Project: A study of the Corporation as it affects individual freedoms.
2. The Labor Union Project: A study of the Labor Union as it affects individual freedoms.
3. The Common Defense Project: An examination of the impact of the Government's defense policies on individual freedoms.

The article from the Daily Worker identified the 10 members of a special committee of consultants which was established to supervise the "basic issues" program. These individuals have been previously identified in this memorandum (Part IV, pg. 122) and a brief summary of information in Bureau files on each person may be found in Bureau file 100-391697-469 & 470.

"The New York Times" of 7/15/57 reflected that according to Fund President Robert M. Hutchins, the ten-member committee on "basic issues" would not be expected to solve the fundamental problems raised by the projects but was expected to identify the problems and to present them in terms which would make possible a rational debate. Hutchins stated that all ten committee consultants would be jointly responsible for conclusions.

Page 10 of "The New York Times" 7/19/57 reflected an editorial comment regarding the Fund's "basic issues" program which was described as a principle part of the present phase of the Fund's operations. The article stated, "The Fund has been spending its money by and large in some exceedingly useful directions despite ill-informed and often irresponsible criticism that has been directed against it. In so doing the fund has helped strengthen American democracy, and the new study just announced gives every indication of being a major contribution to this end." (100-891607-A)

The Corporation Project and Labor Union Project

The "Washington News" of 7-2-57 pg. 19 carried an article entitled "New Fund Inquiry" which reflected that the FFI would undertake an inquiry into the impact of two major U. S. institutions on individual freedom and civil liberty in America. The institutions were identified as the industrial corporation and the labor union. According to the article, Fund President Robert M. Hutchins stated that the corporation and the labor union are institutions "which may affect the individual for good or ill quite as intimately as big government does. The United States is now a nation of employees, with more than 75% of the working force employed by corporations. Almost 10 million workers are members of unions."

The article further stated, "according to Hutchins, the labor union project will examine the relation between the union and its membership, between the union and the community, the implications for individual rights of collective bargaining practices, terms of union contracts, size of the bargaining unit and other factors."

"Along parallel lines, the industrial corporation project will try to 'appraise' the corporation's impact on its employees in certain 'traditional' areas: freedom of speech, association and political activity. Also, hopefully, it aims to develop a comprehensive body of opinions on the proper relationship between employer and employed."

According to the article the Labor Union Project will be headed by Clark Kerr, Chancellor of the University of California, who "is a key figure in industrial relations, with important service on the War, Labor and Stabilization Boards and various Presidential fact-finding bodies."

The industrial corporation project will be directed by Adolph A. Berle, professor of corporation law at Columbia University and former Assistant Secretary of State.

According to this article the basic question which will have to be faced by the consultants on these and other projects will be the effect on the character of the "organization man", the pressures and disciplines which frequently cause the psychological as well as economic entrapment of the individual.

A brief summary of information in Bufiles concerning Adolph A. Berle and Clark Kerr may be found in Bufile 100-801697-467.

Common Defense Project

The "Daily Worker", an east coast communist newspaper, issue of 7-15-57, carried an article captioned "Fund to prove Effect of War Work on Liberty" which reflected that the FFR announced it had begun an examination of the "impact of government defense policies on traditional concepts of freedom and liberty."

According to this article, Dr. Isidor I. Rabi, Nobel-Prize winning physicist and chairman of the General Advisory Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission, will supervise the Common Defense project. Walter Millie, historian and commentator on military affairs, will have administrative responsibility for the project. Members of the FFR's Board of Directors who will provide liaison between the Board and the Common Defense Project are Charles W. Cole, president of Amherst; former Senator Herbert H. Lehman, and Jubal B. Farten, president of Goodley Petroleum Co., Houston Texas.

Summaries of information in Bureau files on Rabi, Millie, Cole and Lehman will be found in Bureau file 100-801697-465, 466. Summary on Farten will be found in Bureau file 100-801697-82.

The article further reflected that Robert M. Litchins, president of the FFR, pointed out that "many acute issues of civil liberties today have arisen from the enormous expansion of governmental military and 'slanty' activities."

Pg. A-2 of the "Washington Post & Times Herald" of 7-15-57 carried a similar article regarding the Common Defense Project and reflected that three specific fields will be covered by this study:

1. The military manpower system, including the draft and reserve laws.
2. Measures developed to control sedition and subversion.

2. Techniques for controlling espionage and sabotage, such as the "great enlargement" of governmental secrecy and the development of intelligence and counter-intelligence agencies.

CHINA-17-A12

National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials

The Daily Worker, an avowed communist newspaper, of September 6, 1957, page 3 carried an article captioned, "Urban League Launches On-Job Training Program" which reflected in part as follows: "A two-year-on-the-job training program in intergroup relations has been begun by the Urban League of Greater New York..... The League is participating in a national program to recruit and train new professional workers in racial and intercultural relations under the general administration of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (NAIRO)." (100-20219-A)

This article reflected that the Fund for the Republic was one among other organizations participating in the financing of the program. (100-20219-A)

The NAIRO was formed in Chicago, Illinois, on November 17, 1947, at a meeting of more than 150 officials working with agencies in the field of race and intergroup relations and the purpose of the organization was to correlate their activities. The Bureau participated in the First National Police - Community Relations Conference which was sponsored by the NAIRO and held in April, 1954, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. A review of the main file on the NAIRO does not reflect any communist infiltration of that organization. (62-25545)

By letter dated February 6, 1957, the New York office advised there was no indication that the Communist Party had instructed its members to infiltrate the Urban League. The files of the New York office did reflect that some Communist Party members were active in the New York Urban League in the past but not in sufficient strength to influence or control it. (100-20219-60)

Special Award

The "Washington Post and Times Herald" of September 13, 1957, page 2-3 carried an article captioned "Quaker Group Accepts Gift After 2-Year Run" which reflected that the Plymouth Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends had decided to accept the \$5,000 gift from the Fund for the Republic and turn the money over to the Elliza Janea Memorial Library for its operation. The money was offered to the Plymouth Monthly Meeting for its

defense of a library employe, Mary G. Knowles, who refused to sign the Pennsylvania loyalty oath. The article stated that Mrs. Knowles was a substitute librarian in 1954, when she was asked to sign the oath, and is presently head librarian at the library. She claimed "she is not now a member of any reputedly subversive group." The article also reflects that Mrs. Knowles was convicted of contempt of a congressional committee and was sentenced to 120 days in jail and fined \$500 but has appealed.

PART IV .

CURRENT ACTIVITIES AND FUTURE PLANS (Oct. 1, to Dec. 31, 1957)

CURRENT STUDIES AND PROJECTS

BASIC ISSUES PROGRAM

The FFD's pamphlet "The Free Society" received Oct. 4, 1957, reflected that more than 100 persons outside of the Fund contributed to the shaping of the Basic Issues Program, among them the ten men who have become the Committee of Consultants.

This pamphlet further reflected, "The Committee has three functions: to think, to discuss, and to publish. Out of its deliberations and the work commissioned by it, the Fund hopes that fresh definitions of fundamental problems and a clarification of the arguments concerning these problems will emerge. The discussions of the Committee may become models of the rational debate essential to the democratic process. Additionally, the Fund will make every effort consistent with its charter to implement the findings of the Committee."

In an attempt to explain the need for the Basic Issues Program, this pamphlet set forth some of the changes that have occurred in the United States since 1791, when the Bill of Rights was adopted. It reflected that the modern corporation, the labor union, the media of mass communications, and the organized political party were institutions which did not exist at all in 1791. Other institutions depicted as having grown enormously were government, education, and the communications system, while the church and voluntary organizations were pictured as playing roles sharply different from those they played in 1791. The conclusion was drawn that "Government is no longer the only institution with the power to increase or to deplete the freedom of the individual and of society."

This pamphlet further reflected as follows:
"But all these new or changed institutions have one thing in common: they have a profound effect on the individual's daily life, and on his rights and responsibilities. They create new problems of maintaining a free society; they may even force us to re-define what such a society is."

The pamphlet reflected that Robert M. Hutchins, president of the FFR, declared as follows in outlining the goals of the Basic Issues Program: "It would be pretentious to suppose that any pioneering venture such as the program of studies we are undertaking could offer definite solutions to the problem of how to maintain and expand individual liberties in an industrialized and politically polarized world. But I believe that the program offers reasonable expectation that the Fund can, by concentrating upon it, make its most effective contribution to the maintenance of freedom and justice in the United States."

How the Basic Issues Program will be Conducted.

This pamphlet reflected that the Committee of Consultants was committed to sustained discussion as the principle means of achieving clarification. The discussion will follow three steps:

1. Define the issues
2. Obtain, through staff work or from committee members, information necessary to the comprehension of the issues as defined.
3. Examination of the data and discussion of relevant viewpoints.

The above process is expected to result in published statements, representing either interim reports or the efforts of the group to clarify the issue under consideration.

According to this pamphlet the Committee of Consultants will go into two main classes of issues:

1. Issues resulting from the impact of new or vastly enlarged institutions such as the influence of the trade union on its members.
2. Issues resulting from the growing complexity of national life, including questions of privacy and censorship.

Organization and Administration of the Projects
under the Basic Issues Program

This pamphlet reflected that the organization and administration of the projects under the Basic Issues Program would follow these lines:

1. The board of the Fund will approve each project.
2. Members of the board will serve as liaison directors with each project.
3. Members of the Committee of Consultants will oversee each project.
4. Each project will have the services of a staff member of the Fund.
5. Each project is authorized to retain consultants or the services of outside groups with special qualifications in the subject under study. This will include spokesmen and others prominent in the affairs of the "institution" under consideration.
6. The Fund will make every effort to stimulate public discussion and debate on the findings.
(100-301007-475)

Labor Union Project

The F.I.R.'s pamphlet entitled "The Free Society" reflected as follows regarding the Labor Union Project:

"American unions, following a tremendous expansion in size and power in the period 1933-1950, have exerted growing influence on the social, cultural and political lives of their members. At the same time they have become a powerful force in areas once considered the exclusive domain of the corporation, such as employee discipline and the process of production itself.

"The 'new unionism' emerging in America takes an interest in foreign affairs, community relations, race relations and other aspects of the civil rights and responsibilities of its members. This may be symptomatic of the will to power or of a new sense of obligation.

"The project will examine the implications for the rights of individuals of collective bargaining practices together with such specific issues as jurisdictional strikes, national strikes affecting the public interest, restrictive work rules and community-union clashes of interest.

"Union officials, industrial relations experts, arbitrators and other authorities will contribute to the project. Close cooperation between the projects on the trade union and the corporation will be maintained."

This pamphlet reflected the following individuals would be connected with the Labor Union Project:

Liaison Directors: Oscar Hammerstein, II
(members of the Paul G. Hoffman
board of directors) Meyer Keethbaum

Representing the Committee of Consultants:
Clark Kerr (Director of the Project)

Staff member: Paul Jacobs (100-301607-475)

Summaries of information in Bufiles regarding the above individuals may be found as follows:
Hammerstein, 100-301607-411; Hoffman, 100-301607-82;
Keethbaum, 100-301607-82 (no derogatory information);
Kerr, 100-301607-470; Jacobs, 100-401493-7.

Corporation Project

The AFR's pamphlet entitled "The Free Society" reflected as follows regarding the Corporation Project:

"The debate today about the relation between the corporation and society, and between the corporation and the individual is incessant and confused. According to one point of view, the corporation moves year after year to progressively higher plateaus, casting off outworn or irresponsible practices as it does so. Others hold that as corporations become more and more powerful, their influence becomes pervasive and perhaps dangerous.

"Of special concern is the effect of the corporation on those closest to it. If civil liberty

describes a proper relation between the state and the individual, should the idea of civil liberty be carried over into the life of the industrial corporation? Or does a different and perhaps more limiting concept, say a concept of corporate liberties, apply?

"Answers to such questions appear to be central to a clarification of basic issues in the U. S. today, since corporations now employ three-fourths of the nation's labor force and wield considerable powers, explicit and implicit, over other institutions as well.

"This project will first seek to appraise the impact of the corporation on the political, social and economic freedom of individuals affected by it.

"From the outset, the cooperation of industry will be sought, in addition to assistance from universities, educational foundations, and trade associations."

The pamphlet reflected the following individuals would be connected with the Corporation Project:

Liaison Directors: H. Albert Linton
(members of the
board of J. Howard Marshall
directors)

Representing the Committee of Consultants: A.A.
Berle, Jr. (director of the project)

Staff Member: W.H. Ferry (vice president of FFR)

(100-331637-475)

Summaries of information in Bufiles regarding the above individuals may be found as follows:

Linton, 100-331637-231 ep 65; Marshall, 221-23170-7;
Berle, 100-331637-463 (no derogatory information);
Ferry, 100-331637-102.

Common Defense Project

The FFR's pamphlet entitled "The Free Society" reflected as follows regarding the Common Defense Project:

"International tensions and the resultant military posture of the country have raised questions of individual freedom and civil liberty. Although the Federal Government's obligation to provide for the common defense is stated in the Constitution, the changes in government responsibility that have taken place since the 18th century have created a shifting and confusing relationship between measures of defense and concepts of freedom.

"To explore the basic issues arising in this field, the project will concentrate mainly on three areas of governmental activity: military manpower policies, the suppression of sedition, and the discovery and prevention of espionage.

"The project will be advanced by commissioning special studies; by consulting with qualified persons in government, law, education and science, and by convening advisory groups from time to time."

This pamphlet reflected the following individuals would be connected with the Common Defense Project:

Liaison Directors: Herbert H. Lehman
(members of the
board of Charles W. Cole
directors)
J. R. Farten

Representing the Committee of Consultants:
I. I. Rabi (director of the Project)

Staff Member: Walter Willis (100-331637-475)

Summaries of information in files regarding the above individuals may be found as follows:
Lehman, 100-331637-466; Cole, 100-331637-465; Farten, 100-331637-42 (no derogatory information); Rabi, 100-331637-465; Willis, 100-331637-465.

In November, 1957, The Fund for the Republic published a pamphlet entitled, "Individual Freedom and the Common Defense" which reflected it was written

by Walter Millis, and was "a contribution to the discussion of the Free Society." This publication was a severe criticism of Government policies and made numerous derogatory references to the Director and the FBI. It minimized the threat of communism, and ridiculed and criticized Government measures to combat communism. It depicted the 1949 trial of CP leaders as resulting from political pressures on the Truman Administration rather than from any violation of law. It pictured legislation against acts of treason, espionage, sabotage and violent revolution as justified but claimed that the legislation enacted was to suppress the "political beliefs" which advocated those acts. Thus they became "anti-sedition measures" and "at variance with the spirit if not the letter of the Constitution."

In the booklet Millis further stated that the fears of our society "received powerful reinforcement and exploitation from the pressures of personal ambition and partisan fury, from the tendency of...the secret police to magnify their accomplishments and justify their function in society...." On page 73 he clearly identified the FBI as "a secret police agency."

The overall trend of Millis' booklet appeared to be an attempt to show that the Government had imposed intolerable restrictions upon individual freedom in the name of defense and security. It called for a revision of the internal security laws, a relaxation of secrecy in governmental operations, and decapitation of intelligence and counter-intelligence operations. Millis attempted to justify this position by minimizing the communist threat to U. S. security and claiming that secrecy, espionage, counterespionage and intelligence were grossly overvalued.

Page 25 of the "Washington Post and Times Herald" of November 27, 1957, carried an advertisement of a "monograph" entitled "Individual Freedom and the Common Defense" by Walter Millis. This advertisement described this publication as follows:

"A thoughtful examination of our national security policies and their impact on individual freedom. These policies have been dramatically called in question

by recent events. Clarification and discussion of many of the issues presented by Mr. Hillis should materially assist in the revisions of national policy which, it is now evident, are imperative. Mr. Hillis' monograph, which he calls 'a structuring of the problem', discusses some of the lines along which these policies might be re-examined and some ways in which modification seems desirable." (100-391607-A)

The "New York Herald Tribune" of November 27, 1957, page C3 carried an article captioned "Republic Fund Issues Pamphlet" which reflected that Hutchins had announced the publication of the first of a series of pamphlets in connection with the Fund's study of a "free society."

This first pamphlet, "Individual Freedom and Common Defense" was written by Walter Hillis, the staff member of the FRF assigned to the Common Defense Project. The article reflected that Hillis stated in the pamphlet that military obligations, as a part of our national defense, have "introduced significant distortions into the processes of American higher education. They are often severely restrictive of individual liberty; it is not clear that they have made any countervailing contributions to political liberty - which is to say, to the common good, or, in this case, to the common defense." (100-391607-A)

Religious Institutions Project

The FRF's pamphlet entitled, "The Free Society" reflected as follows regarding the Religious Institutions Project:

"This project will deal with the relationship between Church and State, the role of religion in public life, and the rights of religious dissent or non-conformity.

"A study group will consider such questions as:

"The role of the religious pressure group and its effect on freedom of speech, freedom to read, freedom of communications, etc.

"The influence of ecclesiastical directives on legislators and blocs of voters and through them on the public law.

"The use of public funds to support church-directed education, parochial activities and sectarian interests,

"The question of prayers, released-time and 'moral guidance' programs as well as religious celebrations in the public schools.

"The project will be a joint effort engaging representatives of the three major faiths, as well as the religiously uncommitted. It will from time to time call in outside experts and leading spokesmen of the various faiths as well as representatives of the non-religious point of view. It will commission special studies and research from qualified individuals and institutions."

This pamphlet reflected the following individuals would be connected with the Religious Institutions Project:

Liaison Directors:	Henry Pitney Van Dusen
(Members of the	Mgr. Francis J. Lally
board of directors)	Eleanor E. Stevenson

Representing the	Reinhold Niebuhr
Committee of	John Courtney Murray, S.J.
Consultants:	

Staff Member:	John Cogley
	(100-391697-475)

Summaries of information in files regarding the above individuals may be found as follows: Van Dusen, 100-391697-456; Lally, 100-391697-465 (no derogatory information); Stevenson, 100-391697-82 (no derogatory information); Niebuhr, 100-391697-489; Murray, 100-391697-470 (no derogatory information); Cogley, 100-391697-401.

GRANTS-IN-AID

The Montgomery Story

The "National Guardian" issue dated 11-6-57, pg. 11 reflected that the FFD planned to give financial aid for the publication of a booklet entitled "The Montgomery Story" which will be a 16-page "comic book" publication based on the bus boycott conducted by Negroes in Montgomery, Alabama. The Booklet was reported to

contain material on the "Montgomery Method" and the "virtues of non-violence." According to the "National Guardian" the booklet was conceived and written by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and will be drawn by the Al Capp organization "at cost or less." Publication is scheduled for January 1958 with an initial printing of 250,000 copies to sell for ten cents each.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation is a nonreligious, socialist-peaceist group whose program included opposition to military conscription, promotion of racial equality and abolition of thermonuclear devices. Al Capp has a record of communist front associations. The "National Guardian" was cited as "a virtual propaganda arm of Soviet Russia" by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. (100-391637)

PAGE IV
CURRENT ACTIVITIES AND FUTURE PLANS
(Jan. 1 to Jan. 31, 1953)

CURRENT ACTIVITIES

Corporation Projects

The "Washington Post and Times Herald" of January 31, 1953, page A-13 carried an article captioned "Fund Would Find Way To Fire Union Officials" which reflected that the Fund for the Republic had published a pamphlet entitled, "Economic Power and the Free Society" which was written by A. A. Lerle, Jr., a lawyer and former Assistant Secretary of State. This study observed that the American economic system, now based on corporate enterprises, holds a power that "can engulf us beyond present belief or perhaps not so free beyond present imagination." Lerle estimated that about two-thirds of the economic productive assets of the United States, excluding agriculture, are owned or controlled by a group of not more than 500 corporations. The power of decision in these corporations, he said, usually resides in a small group of directors, the constitution an "arbitrary self-perpetuating oligarchy." Lerle stated that welfare funds and pension trust funds are an emerging power element. He said that pension funds eventually will reach 70 to 80 billion dollars and perhaps more, and "there is a gradually growing feeling that pension trusts ... must be controlled." (100-331557-4)

Labor Union Projects

The "Washington Post and Times Herald" of January 31, 1953, page A-13 carried an article captioned "Fund Would Find Way To Fire Union Officials" which reflected that on January 19, 1953, the Fund for the Republic had issued a pamphlet entitled "Unions and Union Leaders of Their Own Choosing." This pamphlet was written by Clark Kerr, President-elect of the University of California, and "is part of a series of studies for the Fund on the impact of modern institutions on individual freedom and justice."

In his pamphlet Kerr stated that union leaders must be responsive to their members. He said there was a trend toward compulsory union membership and the growth of one-party rule of unions. He said he is opposed to

"right-to-work" legislation. Among the proposals made by Kerr in his pamphlet were the following:

1. A need for developing an effective method of firing union officials by a disaffected membership.
2. A need for greater local control of union affairs.
3. A need to stimulate greater interest and activity by members in union affairs.
4. Greater professional training of union leaders, and development of an "ethic" to guide their conduct.
5. Development of a "new faith" for the union movement based on a conception of unions as a liberating force in industrial society.

Kerr wrote that "there is need for these improvements; American unions make a 'major over-all contribution to a democratic industrial society.'" (100-201027-4)

CONFIDENTIAL

Association of the Bar of the City of New York

The LRA report of its findings regarding the FBI reflected that on Sept. 7, 1953 the FBI forwarded \$25,000 to Mr. Allen S. Klots, Association of the Bar of the City of New York, Inc. This money was appropriated by the Fund to provide for the reimbursement of costs, including attorney's fees, of respondents in security cases, primarily in industry. On Feb. 22, 1955, the Fund granted the Association \$20,000, fifty per cent of which was earmarked to aid Puerto Ricans being tried in "subversion" cases. (pg 26)

On Sept. 22, 1957 it was announced by the president of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York that the "Committee would conduct a professional and objective study of procedures in connection with the issuance, denial and withdrawal of passports." The LRA report reflected that in June 1953 the FBI appropriated \$25,000 to the Committee on Internal Security of the Bar Association of the District of Columbia to conduct an investigation into the policies and procedures in passport matters. The LRA report speculated that the appropriation to the New York Association made it appear that the FBI dropped the District of Columbia as a

recipient of funds to conduct the identical research. LCCA reports reflected there was no apparent reason for the change of her associations unless it was caused by some very insubstantial reports made by members of the District of Columbia bar about the FBI and its proposed investigation.

(p. 22 of LCCA report.)

Stanford University School of Law
Study of Communist Infiltration in American Communities

The LCCA report of its findings regarding the FBI quoted a portion of a "Report and Proposal by the Dean to the Alumni" of Stanford University School of Law, Sept., 1957, regarding a project financed by the FBI which was to study the testimony of four former members of the CP - Elizabeth Bentley, Leta Stetter, Whitaker Chambers, and John Zenger. The announced purpose of the study was to gather the testimony in order to aid the public understanding of Communist penetration in the U.S. The study would strengthen testimony through corroboration by others or weaken testimony through contradiction by others, through inconsistencies and through gaps. An indexing system would be set up to reduce the massive body of testimony to manageable proportions so that it could be used to analyze the testimony of others on a particular subject. An index digest of the testimony under study was to be prepared and it would be made available to scholars who wished to use it. It was indicated that the project would be completed, except for editorial details, by Dec. 31, 1957. The LCCA report reflected no publication had been issued as a result of this project as of Jan., 1961.

According to the LCCA report the project director was Herbert L. Tucker, a lawyer in the District of Columbia, who accepted an associate professorship at Stanford University to work on this project. His full time research assistant was Ellen Cecelia Murphy.

The LCCA report stated that the failure of this project, in that the testimony of the four individuals would contribute very little to the public understanding of communist penetration in the U.S. because many areas of the communist conspiracy would not be covered. This would leave, to the purpose of the project, the establishment of the reliability or unreliability of the witnesses.

The LCCA report stated that this appropriation of tax-exempt money by the FBI constituted a non-objective.

non-educational expenditure for the purpose of engaging in a propaganda activity, and is therefore expended in violation of the law." (Egs 102-107 of LOEA rep.)

FINANCIAL DATA

Attempt to Finance an Investigation of the FBI.

By letter dated January 17, 1953, Mr. Harold E. Kennedy, 170 East 77th St., N.Y., N.Y., advised the Director that the Fund for the Republic offered the Bar Association, New York City, money to finance an investigation of the FBI. Mr. Kennedy stated, "The proposal was unanimously defeated with a dull thud." (100-201637-404)

Offer to Finance Investigation of Federal Regulatory Agencies

In his February 15, 1953, Radio Broadcast, Frank Pearson stated that the FRF had offered to finance a full-scale probe of the regulatory agencies, putting it under Dr. Bernard Schwartz, "the man who is too honest for the Boulder Committee" (House Special Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight).

Bernard Schwartz was the staff director and chief counsel of the House Special Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight which began its inquiry into the Government's independent regulatory agencies in October, 1951. Schwartz drew heavy criticism as a result of his methods and attempts to determine any irregularities in regulatory agencies. Schwartz was discharged from his position in February, 1953.

PART IV
CURRENT ACTIVITIES AND FUTURE PLANS
(April 1, to June 30, 1958)

BASIC ISSUES PROGRAM

The "Bulletin" of the FFR dated May, 1958, reflected as follows regarding the Fund's Basic Issues Program: "The Fund has undertaken as its major program a study of the basic issues underlying a free society. This study is directed at clarifying fundamental questions concerning freedom and justice that emerge when the forms and principles developed by eighteenth century America meet the ideas and practices of today's highly developed industrial society." (Bureau Library)

LABOR UNION PROJECT

On April 25, 1958, the Immigration and Naturalization Service advised that [redacted], an excludable alien [redacted] was to be admitted to the U.S. on a waiver of inadmissibility [redacted]

[redacted] New York City during [redacted] On [redacted] the New York Office advised that the FFR planned to hold a conference (not a convention) from [redacted] N.Y. The conference was to be a seminar on the Fund's Labor Union Project. Attendance would be by invitation only and restricted to approximately 75 persons because of the small capacity of [redacted] Persons in attendance would be experts or people well qualified to discuss labor and labor-management problems.

Referral/Consult

On May 16, 1958, a confidential source abroad advised that [redacted] a British citizen, was issued a visa on April 22, 1958, to attend a conference to be held by the FFR. [redacted] admitted membership in the Oxford University branch of the Communist Party from [redacted] when applying for a visa. According to the foreign source, it was reported in 1956 that [redacted] had "left the Communist Party some years ago." In 1949, it was reliably reported that [redacted] regularly received the Daily Worker, according to source.

It is possible [] attended the FFR's Labor Union Conference held from [] New York, because New York letter dated May 19, 1958, reflected [] was due to arrive in New York City on May 8, 1958. (105-70495-1,2) b6 b7C

Page 19 of "The New York Times" of May 12, 1958, reflected that Dr. Erich Fromm, psychoanalyst and author, addressed the closing session of the FFR's three-day conference called to discuss the role of "Labor in the Free Society." Fromm has not been previously identified with the FFR. A summary of information in Bufiles regarding Fromm may be found in 100-391697-534. (100-391697-526)

CORPORATION PROJECT

The "Bulletin" of the FFR dated May, 1958, reflected the Fund had published a pamphlet in connection with its study of the free society which was written by Scott Buchanan and entitled "The Corporation and the Republic." (Bureau Library)

MIKE WALLACE TV INTERVIEW PROGRAMS "SURVIVAL AND FREEDOM"

The "Washington Post and Times Herald" of April 22, 1958, carried an article on page B-15, which reflected that Newsmaker Productions, Incorporated, and the Fund for the Republic would produce a series of Mike Wallace TV interview programs at 10:00 p.m., Sundays, over the American Broadcasting Company TV network. The article did not reflect a date for the first program.

The news article reflected that the new program "will examine such relationships of the free society as those between individual freedom and modern corporations, the citizen and the union, and the citizen and the requirements of national defense.

"Other areas to be covered in the Wallace interviews will be the effects of the mass media on freedom, the role of political parties and pressure groups and the role of religious institutions in a democratic society." (100-391697-511)

A review of Bufiles failed to reflect any information identifiable with Newsmaker Productions, Incorporated. A summary of information contained in Bufiles regarding Mike Wallace may be found in 94-49860-7.

According to the 4-30-58 edition of "Variety," a NYC publication, the Mike Wallace interview program commenced on April 27, 1958. The program was entitled "Survival and Freedom" and Wallace and his guests planned to cover all

facets of society and the sociological, religious and economic problems of the day. The show was presented by the American Broadcasting Co. in association with the FFR which had contributed \$50,000 to assist the network in carrying the series of thirteen programs. The show's producer was Ted Yates Jr. and the director was Mickey Trenner. No information was located in Bureau files which could be identified with Yates or Trenner. The "Variety" article also reflected that "Tapes of the shows will be made available for radio rebroadcast and there's a possibility that the kinescopes will get a showing at the U.S. Pavillon at the Brussels Fair." (100-591697-521)

According to "Variety," Mike Wallace's guest for the first program on April 27, 1958, was Reverend Reinhold Niebuhr and the topics of discussion were separation of church and state, anti-semitism, Catholicism, atheism and the necessity of freedom. The inquisitor and the guest were virtually on the same side, the show had a "static and soapy quality that didn't sit too well at 10:00 P.M."

The second program in the series was televised at 10:00 P.M. on May 4, 1958, and Wallace's guest was Cyrus S. Eaton described by Wallace as a Cleveland (Ohio) industrialist who "heads up a one billion dollar empire in coal, iron ore and railroads." Statements made by Eaton on the program were highly opinionated and false. For example, Eaton said:

"If you were to take the police forces of the cities and of the counties and of the states and the Governmental agencies and add them up, Hitler in his prime, through the Gestapo, never had no such spying organizations as we have in this country today."

"...take the Central Intelligence Agency, which one of its jobs is to check the FBI to see whether it is doing its duties...."

"...there are no communists in America to speak of, except in the minds of those on the payroll of the FBI."

Near the end of this program, Wallace said "We have just heard one side of this issue. In the course of this series on survival and freedom, we intend to explore all sides. We plan to have at least one spokesman who believes that the so-called liberal mind is in itself a threat to our survival and freedom."

A typed transcript of the Wallace-Eaton interview may be found in Bufile 100-127094-101.

A Washington City News Service release dated May 6, 1958, reflected that Robert M. Hutchins, president of the FFR, had offered the Director an opportunity to appear on the Mike Wallace TV program to answer charges against the FBI made by

Cyrus S. Eaton on that program on May 4, 1958. The news release reflected that an American Broadcasting Company spokesman in New York disclosed that the Director had telegraphed that he "did not want to dignify Cyrus Eaton's remarks with an interview." (100-391697-A) The full text of the Director's telegram of May 5, 1958, to Hutchins was as follows: "In reply to your telegram of this date, I do not desire to appear on any interview program to dignify the vicious and completely untrue statements about the FBI made by one Cyrus Eaton." It appeared on page A-33 of the "Washington Star" of May 7, 1958.

Fulton Lewis Jr. in his column on page 22, of the "New York Mirror" of May 12, 1958, captioned "Pro-Russian Blurbs Via TV - Tax-Free," criticized the Mike Wallace TV interview of Cyrus Eaton. Lewis wrote, "Even while it faces a death rap from the Internal Revenue Bureau, the Fund for the Republic blithely continues to flaunt its pro-Russian, anti-anti-Communist proteges and propoganda, now via TV." Lewis was critical of Eaton and pointed out some of the false statements made by Eaton on the broadcast. Lewis described Eaton as "an old familiar character with an old familiar line."

Lewis concluded his column as follows: "This is what Dr. Hutchins and the Fund for the Republic call 'The Survival and Freedom Series,' all under the tax-free pretense of education. Meanwhile the red propaganda machines spread Mr. Eaton's bleatings to the world, quoting a great capitalist. And Mr. Eaton, even at this moment, is trodding velvet carpets in Moscow." (100-391697-526)

The May 16, 1958, issue of "Counterattack" was highly critical of Cyrus Eaton's remarks.

By memo of Mr. Kease to Mr. Tolson dated May 20, 1958, it was indicated that the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) had experienced considerable difficulties with the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) and its legal staff in connection with obtaining equal time to answer the charges made by Cyrus Eaton. After considerable debate ABC finally allowed Dick Arens, chief counsel HCUA, to appear on television and refute Eaton's charges. After arriving in NYC for the broadcast Arens was contacted by several members of the legal staff of ABC and was told that under no circumstances would he be allowed to make any references to the FFR in his speech. They also checked Arens' speech for any references which might precipitate a libel suit and made some eliminations from the speech. (100-127094-132)

On May 19, 1958, Richard Arens made a televised address over ABC from 7:30 p.m. to 8:00 p.m., in which he charged that Cyrus Eaton had played into the hands of Communists, and his attack on the Government Agencies had brought to a

climax a "series of public utterances which have appeared over the course of the last several years in the world communist press." Arens stated, "The international communist propaganda machine, which we estimate expends an average of \$3,000,000,000 a year on propaganda, is now using Mr. Eaton's statements all over the world against the United States and our internal security system." Arens stated that Eaton "has extolled the virtues of the Soviet Union, he has attacked what he curiously characterizes as the anti-Russian belligerence of the United States, and expresses his firm conviction that the masters of the Kremlin desire only peace."

During the broadcast Arens announced that Eaton has been ordered to appear before the HCUA at an appropriate time.

A summary of Arens remarks may be found in 100-391697-529,

The spring meeting of the "Crusade for America" was held at the Garden City Hotel, Garden City, Long Island, New York, on May 26, 1958. One of the main speakers was William F. Buckley, Jr., editor of the "National Review" who answered a written question from the audience concerning his opinion of Eaton's attack on the FBI. Buckley stated that Eaton was either "a lunatic or was communist inspired." Buckley said that Eaton had no objective evaluation for his analysis of the FBI and characterized Eaton as suffering from "a dislocation either emotional or intellectual." Buckley related that it was a curious spectacle that people like Eaton get front-page publicity in "The New York Times" for such utterances. (100-391697-535)

The third person to be interviewed by Mike Wallace on this TV series was Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas. This interview was broadcast on May 11, 1958, and "The New York Times" of May 12, page 24, carried an article captioned "Douglas Attacks Conformity Drive" which reflected that Justice Douglas stated the U.S. tended to become insensitive to inroads against basic liberties. He said there was a demand for conformity to general patterns of thought. He stated there was an inclination "to look for a teacher who is so-called 'safe,' a minister who is 'safe,' a Congressman who is 'safe.'" A person who is 'safe' was defined as one who did not have unorthodox ideas and was "not a contentious character." The Justice continued that after World War II it became the practice to have "public trials" ferreting out subversives. As a result, "people became more and more frightened and, to get a job or to keep a job, wanted to be safe." Consequently, there has been "a general contraction of the feeling of ability to speak freely and a general lowering of the standards of free expression that we have enjoyed in early days."

A verbatim transcript of the Justice Douglas interview may be found in 100-391697-517.

The fourth program of the series was broadcast on May 18, 1958, and the guest was Mr. Aldous Huxley, British author and social critic. According to "The New York Times" of May 19, 1958, page 45, Huxley expressed concern that scientific and technological advances were making it possible to persuade man through his subconscious. Huxley said "We have now, powerful, mind-changing drugs which will lead to terrible results...." Huxley mentioned subliminal advertising as a new device for influencing thinking, but which was not yet a menace although it might be used in future political campaigns. He stated that "a democracy depends on the individual voter making an intelligent and rational choice for what he regards as his enlightened self-interest in any given circumstance." (100-391637-A)

A summary of information contained in Bufile regarding Huxley may be found in 100-391637-531.

The fifth program of the series featured an interview of Dr. Eric Fromm, a psychoanalyst and social critic, and was broadcast on May 25, 1958.

During the interview Fromm stated there has never been a better society than that in the U.S., but it is in serious danger of destroying itself if the U.S. goes on in the direction it is now taking. He stated production and consumption have become an end instead of a means to an end. Americans are not concerned with matters of society or politics. Fromm stated he was a Social Democrat and remarked that socialism was connected with Stalin's so-called socialism, which had nothing to do with socialism; it is the most reactionary, censorious, autocratic society there is in Europe. Fromm speculated that if Marx had lived in the thirties, he would have been shot as an agent of capitalism by Stalin. A summary of information in Bufiles regarding Fromm may be found in 100-391637-534. (100-391637-553)

Adlai E. Stevenson, former democratic presidential candidate, was interviewed during the 6th program of this series on June 1, 1958. Stevenson stated that in some cases there is corruption of politicians, but felt that such could be done by the voter. Stevenson said he believed the voters should take a more active part in their political parties and the political clubs in their communities. A summary of Stevenson's remarks may be found in 100-391637-541.

The seventh interview of this series was telecast on June 8, 1958, and featured Gloucester L. Weaver Jr., former president of the National Broadcasting Company, who criticized the management of the television networks for failing to live up to their responsibilities and for degrading the quality of their service to the public.

A summary of the interview with Weaver may be found in Bufile 100-391697-546. A summary of information contained in Bufiles regarding Sylvester Weaver Jr. may be found in 100-391697-542.

The Washington City News Service on June 9, 1958, carried a release which reflected the FFR had protested censorship by ABC of the Mike Wallace interview with Sylvester (Pat) Weaver. An FFR spokesman said that "ABC lawyers believed the statement he (Weaver) was making at that time was possibly libelous and they censored it. We protested it to ABC." A spokesman for Weaver said that when Wallace's interview with Weaver was "definitely faded" for about ninety seconds, Weaver was discussing whether or not television was living up to its responsibilities in a free society. The spokesman for Weaver said, "I think the public got the gist of what he (Weaver) was saying--that television management was not living up to its responsibilities in a free society."

"The Evening Star", Washington D. C., of June 16, 1958, page A-10 carried an article captioned "Network Drops Interview as Lodge Edits it" which reflected that the American Broadcasting Company cancelled the 8th interview of this series, which was to have been televised on June 15, 1958. The filmed interview was with U.S. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge who had insisted on editing certain portions of the interview that involved "national security and the public interest." The article reflected ABC felt that to have permitted the deletions would have constituted editorial censorship in violation of company policy. John Daly, ABC vice president for news and public affairs, said Newsmaker Productions had guaranteed Mr. Lodge the right to edit the interview. Robert Hutchins took issue with ABC and defended Lodge. As originally filmed, Lodge said in the interview that the U.S. should give up the idea of winning popularity abroad and should seek international respect instead. Lodge also said that the Russians "believe in protracted conflict to the bitter end." The phrases to which Lodge objected were not disclosed. The interview was not televised. (100-391697-A)

"The New York Times" of June 17, 1958, page 59 carried an article by Jack Gould captioned "TV: Sound Journalism" which reflected that Robert Hutchins had said that Mr. Lodge was within his rights in not allowing an official of a network to determine what statements should be broadcast. According to Hutchins the FFR had invited Lodge "to say what he wanted to say in exactly the way he wanted to say it." Hutchins added that the purpose of the series is educational.

Jack Gould was critical of Hutchins stand and of the Fund's policy in handling this series of interviews. Gould said "Neither the fund nor Mr. Wallace states on the air that their guest has the prerogative to examine the finished

interview in advance, censor what he doesn't like or make other changes. The public is not told that the guest, in effect, has control over the presentation."

"Under Dr. Hutchins' novel concept of the 'educational interview,' genuine reportorial independence becomes mere camouflage for a handout." (100-391697-A)

"The New York Times" of June 18, 1958, page 67 carried a column by Jack Gould captioned "TV: Reply by Hutchins" which reflected that Robert M. Hutchins wrote a letter to Jack Gould to take exception to remarks printed by Gould in the June 17, 1958, issue of "The New York Times." Gould had stated that John Daly was to be congratulated for taking a firm stand in regard to this series of programs and the cancellation of the Lodge interview. Hutchins contended that Daly was not firm but rather acted as a censor to keep Lodge from voicing his views on the air. In his letter Hutchins pointed out that Mike Wallace had conducted previous interviews with a searching skill and has maintained his characteristic independence as a reporter. Jack Gould wrote "If the journalistic interview format is used, then the fund should be the first to want to withdraw from any influence, control or supervision whatsoever. That is the way to give Mr. Wallace the reportorial independence of which Dr. Hutchins speaks. Mr. Wallace, in turn should report to the man charged with over-all responsibility for news policy, which in this instance is Mr. Daly.

"On the other hand, if the fund does wish to present an educational series wherein the speakers do control contents, then the program, at the very least, should be labeled "The Fund for the Republic Program" and dissociated from independent news reporting." (100-391697-A)

The ninth program in the Fund sponsored Mike Wallace interview programs was televised on June 22, 1958, and featured Monsignor Francis Lally, Editor of the Boston Catholic Newspaper "Pilot." The interview dealt with allegations that the Catholic Church does not adhere to the doctrine of separation of church and state, and that the teachings of the Catholic Church do not enhance intellectual development but stifle it. Monsignor Lally presented his arguments showing that these allegations are erroneous.

Monsignor Francis J. Lally has been a member of the Fund's Board of Directors since March, 1957, and a summary of information in Bufiles concerning him may be found in 100-391697-456.

FFR DISTRIBUTED COPIES OF MIKE WALLACE INTERVIEWS

Memo to Mr. Nease to Mr. Tolson dated June 2, 1958, reflected that Judge James R. Duncan of the Subversive Activities Control Board furnished two pamphlets which were printed copies of the Mike Wallace interviews with Cyrus S. Eaton and William O. Douglas. The pamphlets were mailed from the FFR in New York City and reflected single copies could be obtained without charge from the FFR; additional copies were available at ten cents each. (100-391697-538)

By letter dated June 23, 1958, the New York office furnished a similar pamphlet which reflected the details of the Mike Wallace interview with Reinhold Niebuhr. This was the first interview of this TV series. (100-391607-551)

GRANTS-IN-AID

GRANT TO THE CHRISTIAN LIFE COMMISSION

Page B-10 of "The Evening Star" Washington, D.C., of May 23, 1958, carried an article captioned "Church Beats Motion to Reject Ford Funds" which reflected that the Southern Baptist Convention being held at Houston, Texas, beat down an attack on the acceptance of \$15,000 by the Christian Life Commission from the FFR. The article reflected a motion was introduced stating that "this convention return the \$15,000 grant from the Ford Foundation through the Fund for the Republic and that no further grants be received from this foundation." The convention was also told that the FFR "has as a matter of record granted funds not only to religious organizations and institutions but also to institutions that are recognized as Communist front organizations." The article further reflected that the receipt of the grant was defended by Feuben A. Alley of Richmond, editor of the Religious Herald and Dr. A.C. Miller, of Nashville, Tennessee, executive secretary of the Christian Life Commission. The purpose of this grant was not stated in the news article. (100-391697-A)

ROBERT E. SHERWOOD TELEVISION AWARDS

"The New York Times" of June 17, 1958, page 59 reflected that several American Broadcasting Company programs had been nominated for Robert E. Sherwood television awards, which are administered annually by the FFR. The award winners will be cited for programs dealing with the theme of freedom and justice. (100-391697-A)

CRITICISM OF FUND

Nature of Criticism

Since its inception, The Fund for the Republic has been the subject of numerous comments from columnists and broadcasters including such well-known individuals as David Lawrence, George Sokolsky, Fulton Lewis, Jr. and Walter Winchell; from Members of Congress such as Representative B. Carroll Reece and Senator John W. Bricker; from the National Commander of The American Legion; and from the editorial staffs of newspapers throughout the United States.

The vast majority of these reviews have severely criticized the Fund for:

1. Its assumption that the Communist Party, USA, is not a dangerous threat to the security of the United States, but merely another political party akin to the Democratic and Republican Parties.
2. Its apparent interest in "investigating the investigators"-- congressional committees and other governmental investigative organizations.
3. It offers no solution to security problems.
4. Its activities as a political and propaganda agency rather than a tax-exempt foundation.
5. The similarity of its program in many respects to that of the Communist Party, USA, thus indirectly aiding the aims and purposes of the Party.

The following items are summations of public utterances made by the above-mentioned individuals under these five categories. Additionally, under point number five, based upon previous material in this monograph setting forth in the form of statements, objectives, products and plans of The Fund for the Republic, the reader may wish to appraise a portion of the Communist Party line as portrayed in the Party press during the period immediately preceding the incorporation of the Fund in December, 1952, and more recent statements appearing in 1955.

Communist Party, USA, Is Not a Menace

On September 11, 1955, the National Commander of The American Legion, Seaborn P. Collins, assailed The Fund for the Republic and its president, Robert M. Hutchins, and called upon legionnaires "to have no truck with" activities sponsored by the Fund. Collins stated that "...By shrewd grants and expenditures, The Fund for the Republic is threatening and may succeed in crippling the national security. One apparent line of attack is to attempt to persuade Americans that communism is not, and never has been, a serious threat to the United States." Collins added that "This propaganda is considered by the American Legion to be as dangerous as it is untrue," and that "...With Hutchins at the helm the fund is tending...toward elimination

of restrictions on those who seek to destroy our freedoms."

New York Mirror, September 12, 1955
The Washington Post and Times Herald,
September 12, 1955

On October 9, 1955, the national executive committee of The American Legion accepted a report severely critical of The Fund for the Republic. According to an Associated Press article of October 10, 1955, a summary of this report, drawn up by the Legion's publications commission, said the Fund "'has been spending its money largely on projects and individuals which have definite left-wing biases.'" Regarding Hutchins, the summary states that he "'has never at any time shown the slightest interest in, or concern over, Communist subversion...'" The summary points out that "'Nowhere in any project or activity of the Fund is there a hint that the objectives of Communists include the destruction of all civil liberties. Communists are treated merely as non-conformists, not as conspirators.'"

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
October 10, 1955

In commenting upon this action by The American Legion, the Los Angeles Examiner stated:

"The root of the controversy is that the Legion is dedicated to Americanism and is vigorously anti-Communist, while the

Fund for the Republic has been accused of coddling radicalism, of opposing congressional investigations into subversion and of discrediting the Federal security program."

"Behind the entire controversy lies a mortal conflict--conflict between 'liberals' who would tolerate Communists as an abused political party, and those who view Communism as an international conspiracy which seeks to subvert our Government.

"No one should deny that the second view is the right one."

Los Angeles Examiner, September 14, 1955

Despite this criticism, evidence that the Fund intends to continue its previous methods was shown, when on September 15, 1955, the board of directors of the Fund circulated a release defending its aims and work against The American Legion charges. The board stated in part that since its inception, it has regarded the sphere of the Fund as including the entire field of freedom and civil rights and has taken as its basic charter the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. This release also stated that from the beginning the board has held that the major factor affecting civil liberties today is the menace of Communism and Communist influence in this country. Coupled with this threat, according to this release, was the "grave danger" to civil liberties in methods that "may be used" to meet the threat.

This release of the Fund reaffirmed the board's faith in its purposes and completed projects.

Press Release of The Fund for the Republic,
September 15, 1955

On October 6, 1955, United States Attorney Leo A. Rover, speaking before the Northeast Council of Citizens Associations in Washington, D. C., warned delegates of an "'insidious movement' attempting to portray the Communist Party as a political party such as the Republican and Democrat." Rover said the movement has emanated through various facilities including The Fund for the Republic. He stated that he thinks that there is definitely an "'anti-Communist propaganda movement in the wind," and that in a recent Fund for the Republic statement, it was pretty clearly stated that the Communist Party was only a political party. Rover pointed out that the courts have ruled that the Communist Party is revolutionary.

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
October 7, 1955

Russell Turner, a staff assistant to Fulton Lewis, Jr., produced an article regarding the Fund provocatively titled "Fund for Which Republic?" in which he stated that evidence, accumulated during the Fund's two and one half years of actual operation, shows conclusively that its true objectives

are to convince gullibles that the domestic Communist menace is and always has been a myth, to stop any effective investigations of Red operations and influences, and to smother anti-Communism wherever it may crop up.

Turner asserted that the evidence is that it would

1. put an end to every form of personnel security program, in or out of government;
2. have the country accept at face value the self-appraisal of the Communist Party, USA, as simply a domestic political movement, despite legislative, executive and judicial findings that it is a subversive conspiracy directed from Moscow and designed to overthrow our Government.

Human Events, Washington, D. C.,
September 24, 1955

"Investigate the Investigators"

On August 30, 1955, George Sokolsky referred to books, articles and other material distributed by 'The Fund for the Republic' . . . with the object of influencing public opinion." The list included such titles as Banned Books by Anne Lyon Haight, a special issue of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Government by Investigation by Alan Barth, et cetera.

Sokolsky stated that the list is all one-sided. "It is anti-FBI, anti-Congressional committees investigating subversives. Certainly any citizens can be anti-FBI

and anti-Congressional committees. But the question arises: if rich corporations can set up tax-free foundations to propagate a particular point of view, is there not a possibility of limiting freedom of debate because no tax-free money is available for another point of view?"

George E. Sokolsky, Boston American,
August 30, 1955

On September 24, 1955, he commented on the Report of The Fund for the Republic dated May 31, 1955, stating, "What this report of the Fund for the Republic indicates to me... is that the Fund, as an action organization, is attempting to use the \$15,000,000 that the Ford Foundation has given it to take over the work of the Congressional committees and to smother all anti-Communist investigations and activities. If that is its intention, it will fail. If that is not its intention, why interfere with the Congressional committees?"

New York Journal American,
September 24, 1955

David Lawrence on August 23, 1955, stated that, judging from the annual report of The Fund for the Republic which had just been issued, it appeared that the organization was primarily interested in "investigating the investigators--the persons and institutions who recognize that a

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Communist conspiracy has existed in the United States and still exists."

Lawrence also alleged that The Fund for the Republic and its president, Robert M. Hutchins, are biased in their opinions and have made considerable effort to persuade others to follow the opinion of The Fund for the Republic.

New York Herald Tribune, August 23, 1955

No Solution to Security Problems

In August, 1955, Dorothy Thompson reviewed the report of The Fund for the Republic and criticized it strongly for offering no solution to its primary goal of advancing the understanding of civil liberties. Thompson said that the "squeamish" document exhibits a lack of both intellectual clarity and civil courage and that in this document the Fund has brought forth a "timid, rather pinkish mouse." While Dorothy Thompson stated that she had long doubted that congressional committees inquiring into the beliefs of individuals were an effective means of combating Communism, she had hoped that the Fund would suggest a more effective means of combating the chief enemy of civil liberties in this country and throughout the world while upholding the great traditions of Western society.

The Washington Post and Times Herald,
August 26, 1955

Political and Propaganda Agency

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in a radio broadcast, May 22, 1955, stated that he had some interesting information on "the new activities of the highly-suspect-and-getting-more-so Fund for the Republic," which he felt would bear careful attention by his listeners "because this is a new kind of curve ball from the left wing." Lewis added that The Fund for the Republic had supported one questionable project after another, consistently. Lewis also stated that this was the organization that financed the circulation of Edward R. Murrow's one-hour "glorification" of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer after Oppenheimer's security clearance had been removed by the Atomic Energy Commission. Lewis also stated that The Fund for the Republic was distributing books to Federal judges and that in doing so was making an attempt at political and ideological lobbying and that this activity was being financed "by money that really belongs to you and me."

On June 8, 1955, George Sokolsky stated that The Fund for the Republic has been antagonistic to all congressional investigations and investigators, has teams all over the country ostensibly investigating the Communists but actually seeking to discover what active anti-Communists have been doing. He further pointed out that the Fund has also become

engaged in the free distribution of books, pamphlets, newspaper articles, et cetera. One phase of political propaganda is the uninvited, unsolicited, unpaid for distribution of material on one side of a question with the object of influencing public opinion. He stated that the Fund has sent such material to clergymen, college presidents and Federal judges, among others.

New York Journal American, June 8, 1955

On July 21, 1955, Representative B. Carroll Reece reminded Congress that the Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations had, during the Eighty-third Congress, "expressed regret of the entry of the Ford Foundation and its \$15 million offspring into the field of civil liberties, which is in a disputed area already crowded with muddled liberals, pro-Communists, anti-anti-Communists, and designing pressure groupists, who scheme constantly to maintain a left-wing balance of power in America, by loudly shouting the phony civil-rights issue." Representative Reece further noted that the committee had denounced the expenditure of great sums of tax-exempt money in the political field by biased individuals whose public utterances brand them as wholly incompetent to conduct a fair and objective inquiry, or to make grants of money in the public interest.

Reprint from Congressional Record of
speech by B. Carroll Reece in House of
Representatives, July 21, 1955

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Paul Harvey in his radio broadcast of August 28, 1955, stated that he simply could not understand why The Fund for the Republic was "hiding behind the label 'non-political' . . . when everything they espouse and finance seems to parallel the political action of the PAC. Indeed, the Vice-President of the Fund for the Republic, W. H. Ferry was a top official of the CIO Political Action Committee in 1944 and 1945." According to Harvey, in following its pattern of opposing everybody who is sincerely concerned with our national security, the Fund "is loading its guns with your dollars . . . And aiming its guns . . . at the FBI and the American Legion."

An editorial in the Fort Lauderdale Daily News commented that "The American people are now having their pockets picked to finance propaganda that, to say the least, is soft on Communism and hard on anti-Communists. We're talking about that progeny of the Ford Foundation, the ironically-named Fund for the Republic." The editors ask, "Where do these academic southpaws get off by thinking they can use tax-exempt Ford millions to brainwash the American public? Under the law, foundations are granted their tax-exempt status to advance the public good--and that does not include partisan political activities. And despite the coy way they phrase the objectives of their 'studies' they ARE active in the field of politics."

Fort Lauderdale (Fla.) Daily News,
September 3, 1955

On September 4, 1955, correspondent Walter Trohan reported that Representative August E. Johansen has suggested congressional scrutiny of the tax-exemption privileges of The Fund for the Republic after examining its official structure and projects. He charged the Fund with promoting leftist causes while pretending to defend civil rights. According to Trohan, Representative Johansen said that he is not concerned over the right of private groups, privately financed, to be active in alleged defense of civil liberties. He said he objects to apparent propaganda efforts, operating under the guise of defending liberties, receiving tax-exempt status, which means that the people are financing leftist causes. Trohan quotes Johansen as saying, "The fund report discloses certain current and projected activities clearly propagandist in character, including activities involving the utilization of the most modern and powerful media of communication and mass opinion shaping before the fact finding has been undertaken."

Chicago Sunday Tribune, September 4, 1955

On October 6, 1955, Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his column remarked that the report issued by The Fund for the Republic confirmed the many suspicions that the basic "Hutchins-Ferry" intent is to eliminate any form of personnel security program. Lewis contrasted the objectivity of the

Rockefeller Foundation with what he terms the "questionable and dubious" attitude of the Fund. According to him, most of the criticism of the Fund is based upon its attempts to prescribe the tenor of conclusions derived from studies made under its grants and to monitor them. He stated, "That constitutes an effort to lead and mold public opinion, not to promote thinking and discussion; its legitimacy is extremely dubious."

Washington Report, by Fulton Lewis, Jr.,
Copyright, 1955, King Features Syndicate,
Inc., October 5, 1955

Similarity to Communist Party Program

General Comment

Certain commentators have indicated that material produced by The Fund for the Republic has evidenced an amazing, if unwitting, similarity with the program of the Communist Party, USA.

Fulton Lewis, Jr. on October 5, 1955, stated that "The circuitous route chosen by the Fund to accomplish this aim is by attempting to persuade the American people that Communism is a legitimate, albeit heretical, political movement; and that any attempts to control the subversive conspiracy which Communism really is, constitute illegal and improper violations of the Constitution's guarantees of civil rights and liberties." Lewis concluded

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with the forceful observation that "The more I delve into this Fund for the Republic, the more amazed I am at the many similarities between its program and that of the Communist Party."

New York Journal-American, October 5, 1955

An editorial in the Boston Post of August 25, 1955, stated that Dr. Hutchins' Report of The Fund for the Republic, dated May 31, 1955, revealed that "his tender and sole concern seems to be for the civil rights of members of the Communist Party and their fellow travelers." The article further stated that the Fund has spent \$2,514,738 in five years to "advance understanding of civil liberties," but all of the super-liberal doctor's projects concern "anti-anti-communism."

Boston Post, August 25, 1955

On October 3, 1955, Senator John W. Bricker addressed the annual convention of the American Bakers Association and assailed The Fund for the Republic. Bricker stated that the purpose of the Fund, instead of being objective as originally intended, is apparently to criticize those critical of Communism.

The Philadelphia Inquirer, October 4, 1955

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The Daily Worker, an east coast Communist newspaper, in commenting upon the arrest of Max Weiss, a national leader of the Communist Party, USA, under the membership clause of the Smith Act, alleged that his "'crime'" was the type that "conveniently requires no evidence: membership, association, ideas," and quoted a statement by Dr. Robert Hutchins, president of The Fund for the Republic:

"Think, what has happened of late to the great American principle that man is to be judged by what he does, not by what he thinks, not even by what he says, certainly not by what his relatives think or say or even by what they do, surely not by what his acquaintance or acquaintances of his acquaintances think say or do."

Immediately following this statement the editorial says,

"To which might be added--and certainly not by what paid perjurious informers claim he thinks or says!"

Daily Worker, September 21, 1955

Excerpts which follow were taken from the Communist Party press showing the Party line on legislative and juridical matters in 1952 and 1955, upon which those identified with the activities of The Fund for the Republic have among them also taken a stand on one or more of these facets.

1952 Communist Party Line

"The Smith and McCarran acts under which the so-called trials of the Communists and the Communist Party are taking place are special anti-Communist legislation, laws of attainder

in flagrant violation of the Constitution. With their systems of thought control, denial of free speech, and political intimidation, these laws are more fitting to a fascist regime than to a country with a democratic tradition such as ours."

Daily Worker, August 11, 1952

"The Communist Party and its members, as has been stated repeatedly, will not register under the degrading, fascistlike McCarran Act. It is an American Party and it will resolutely defend its rights as such...."

Daily Worker, October 22, 1952

"These 'subversive organization' lists are sheer lawlessness. They violate everything in our Constitution and the legal system based on it. The FBI's political police, and witchhunting committees, like the Un-Americans and the McCarranites, are running up and down the country smashing our laws, spitting in the face of even the Supreme Court's ruling...."

Daily Worker, October 20, 1952

"...The government loyalty program grew rapidly until it imposed thought control on three million government workers.

"...every government worker's life was made a target for FBI investigation.

"...guilt by association became the standard in the government. Civil servants were fired for knowing the wrong people, for having the wrong relatives and for reading the wrong books."

Daily Worker, August 31, 1952

"Labor Day--and all the following days right up to Election Day--should be an occasion for demanding outright repeal of the hated Taft-Hartley Law...."

Daily Worker, August 15, 1952

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1955 Communist Party Line

"Communists are not the threat to the country that the Justice Department claims them to be. They have been arrested as part of the drive to promote the cold war...."

The Worker, July 31, 1955

"...if the McCarran and Communist Control Acts are upheld by the Supreme Court these acts 'will for the first time in American history outlaw a political party, tighten up measures for policing the labor movement, and lay the legal basis under certain circumstances to turn our country into a complete police state.'"

Daily Worker, August 4, 1955

"A CRUSADE to restore the Bill of Rights was called for last week by the special conference of Communist Party leaders from all parts of the country. The conference stressed the goal of securing the invalidation of the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950, now facing a U. S. Supreme Court test, and of its amended form, the Communist Control Act of 1954 under which Brownell is already prosecuting the first union."

Daily Worker, August 9, 1955

"Brownell and his Justice Department face a dilemma. They are determined to frame more and more Smith Act victims, and this they cannot do without the use of their discredited informers. And they cannot utilize these informers effectively unless they find some answer to the growing revulsion of the American people against these paid liars. Their solution to the dilemma is to harass and penalize every liberal voice raised in protest against their methods."

Daily Worker, July 15, 1955

"... What is also involved is the whole question of the various Congressional 'investigations,' first challenged years ago. . . In most cases these are illegal. Not only were they never authorized, they could not have been authorized even if Congress had so desired, because under the law, committees can hold hearings only for the purpose of formulating legislation or passing judgment on some pending legislation or appointment. "

"Of course, even consideration of actual legislation is no excuse for 'investigating' people's thoughts, reading, writing, associations and affiliations. "

Daily Worker, August 2, 1955

It was reliably reported that on October 5, 1955, a meeting was held at the Civil Rights Congress* headquarters, New York City, relative to the formation of a new group. This meeting was presided over by a New York Communist Party functionary, Sam Coleman, who stated that the new group would be an independent Party organization. The name tentatively selected for this group is Council for Protection of Personal Liberties and one of two major issues to be considered initially is "paid Government witnesses."

Defense of Smith Act Defendants

In late September, 1955, New York Communists, in connection with organizing a defense campaign in behalf of George Blake Charney and Alexander Trachtenberg, defendants in the forthcoming New York Smith Act

* See Appendix for citation.

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trial, are reported to have contacted Norman Thomas, a Socialist Party leader. Thomas is said to have agreed to help establish a defense committee and allegedly is negotiating with The Fund for the Republic to underwrite the defense of these individuals. However, Party leaders were reportedly of the opinion that the Fund would not furnish funds.

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J. Addington Wagner was a guest on the program, "Youth Wants to Know," on November 27, 1955. Among various questions asked, Wagner was asked if Robert Hutchins resigned would the American Legion take the Fund off of its black list. Wagner stated that the Legion had no black list and that the antagonism of the Legion toward the Fund was not directed at Hutchins himself but was directed at the activities of the Fund under Hutchins. As an example of these activities, he stated, the Fund says that Communism is a philosophy whereas the American Legion believes it is a conspiracy and a danger to our country. (Memo W.A. Jones to Nichols, 11/23/55; "Youth Want to Know" Program, 11/27/55)

In answer to the criticism previously made by Ceshorn R. Collins, former National Commander of the American Legion in September, 1955, the Fund placed a 1-page advertisement in the December, 1955, issue of the American Legion magazine. The Fund states that Collins had been misinformed about the purposes and program of the Fund, which they claim encompasses the entire field of freedom and civil rights. The Fund adds that from the beginning it has held that the major factor affecting civil liberties today is the menace of Communism and Communist influence in this country.

In the same issue of the American Legion magazine, the Legion in answer to the Fund's advertisement published a 1-page article extremely critical of the Fund. The article stated that although the Fund expresses a concern over the menace of Communism and Communist influence in this country, their use of anti-anti-Communists shows their true interests. The Legion then stated, "We believe the Fund for the Republic has been duped or misled into using civil rights and civil liberties as a false issue," that under the leadership of the Fund "has been carrying on propaganda on projects and individuals which have definite left-wing biases."

David Lawrence

Lawrence in his September 16, 1955, column said that the Fund is "engaged in active propaganda seeking to

✓ discredited the security system of the United States Government." It stated that the Fund consists of a Board of Directors "predominately from the 'left wing'"; that it is apparent that most of the Fund's projects are concerned with an attempt to discredit and ridicule, if not abolish, the present security system. (100-301037-1, "New York Herald Tribune," 9/16/55)

Walter Lewis, Jr., ✓

Lewis in his column of September 13, 1955, said that by and large the individuals who control the Fund and direct its operations are as fine a collection of "ultra-liberals, outright leftists, and apologists for Communism" as ever could be gathered under one tent.

(100-301037-4; "Washington Report," syndicated column, 9/13/55)

Lewis in his column of September 25, 1955, said that he had been doing a great deal of thinking in recent weeks into the activities of the Fund. As a result he is convinced that a "substantial part - in fact, almost all - of its activities are carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation." He stated further, "I am convinced it is attempting to create a public opinion favorable to repeal of statutory provisions for any and all forms of personnel security programs, in or out of the Government; that, as a precedent to conditioning the public to that opinion, it is trying to poll the idea that there never has been any domestic Communist threat; that the whole thing is a myth; that it adopts in fact the theory that the Communist Party, U.S.A., is a legitimate political movement rather than the foreign directed subversive conspiracy which Congress, the Executive Branch, and the Courts have held it to be." (100-301037-102)

In his column of November 14, 1955, Lewis stated that the Fund and its officers are worried on two scores, and justifiably so: their tax exempt status and criticism from liberals who normally would be expected to side with the Fund. Lewis added that these concerns are believed the real explanation for a Press Conference regarding the purposes and activities of the Fund held by Watkins, its President, on November 7, 1955. According to Lewis, the

advance of these activities of the Fund that he proposed to demonstrate through the program that the threat of Communism in the United States is a myth, and that he intended to "explode" that myth. (94-4-2189-252)

On December 9, 1955, Lewis discussed on his broadcast the costs involved in fund-raising activities of various charitable organizations. He then analyzed the Fund's financial statement as set out in its May 31, 1955, annual report, which stated it cost the Fund 8.0 cents on the dollar to raise funds. Lewis added, however, that the Fund had initially received \$15,000,000 and, therefore, it had no fund-raising costs. He then said that the Fund gave out \$1,000,000 in grants with administrative costs amounting to \$650,500. Lewis concluded, therefore, that using these figures as legitimate cost, the Fund had spent 35 cents for every dollar utilized. This, he said, reflected poor administration and on the executive ability of Paul Hoffman, Chairman of the Board of the Fund. (94-4-2189-249)

Lewis, in his broadcast of December 29, stated that the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) investigation concerning the Fund was not a smear and would be directed to determine whether the Fund was a legitimate tax-exempt institution or a political propaganda outfit. He said if the Fund was "clean" it had nothing to fear. The only thing the Fund has to fear, Lewis said, was guilt. He added that he doubted whether the HCUA had broad enough jurisdiction to investigate the Fund since the question of tax exemption was actually a matter for the Ways and Means Committee. Lewis suggested that the proposed investigation might be handled jointly by the HCUA and the Ways and Means Committee. (94-4-2189)

In his broadcast of December 30, 1955, Lewis stated that a group of individuals interested in the defense of Smith Act subjects, particularly with reference to the forthcoming trials in Pittsburgh, are trying to obtain a staff of big-named lawyers and are trying to gather evidence and testimony to show that the Communist Party does not present a clear and present danger to the U.S. This group, says Lewis, is trying to get advance information from the Fund as to the results of the Fund's various studies in order to support that claim. This group, Lewis indicated, claims that they have received some encouragement from the Fund. (94-4-2189)

George Sokolsky ✓

Sokolsky, in his column of September 24, 1955, said that "the Fund, as an action organization, is attempting to use the \$15,000,000 that the Ford Foundation has given it to take over the work of the Congressional committees and to smother all anti-Communist investigations and activities." (9/24/55 issue of "Washington Post and Times-Herald")

In his October 11, 1955, column, Sokolsky said that the Ford Foundation has in recent months taken a peculiar attitude toward its off-spring, the Fund for the Republic. He said that "privately the directors of the Ford Foundation denounce the Fund for the Republic; it is impossible to get anyone to be responsible for a public statement along the lines of the private conversations." (10/11/55 issue "New York Journal-American")

Sokolsky, in his broadcast October 16, 1955, was critical of the Fund and its various projects. He stated that most of the tax-free money spent by the Fund to date has been on what he regards as "left-wing" projects. He also charged that the Fund was engaged in political activities. (62-89885-118)

Henry Ford II ✓

On December 7, 1955, Henry Ford II made public a letter in which he stated he feels that some actions of the Fund for the Republic "have been dubious in character and inevitably have led to charges of poor judgment." Ford said he questioned Fund activities "as a private citizen" and added, "what effect my comments may have remains to be seen." Ford wrote "neither I nor any of the other trustees of the Foundation has a voice in the Fund's activities or projects. We have no control over the selection of personnel for the Fund's staff." (12-8-55 "New York Herald-Tribune," "New York Daily News," "Washington News," "Washington Star"; 100-891607-4)

It is noted that Ford's letter was previously quoted by Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his broadcast of December 6, 1955. Lewis then stated that the Fund is now left as an independent and unattached propaganda fund without prospect of any financing from the Ford Foundation, nonetheless dangerous, but at least not carrying the dignity and prestige of the Ford name. (94-4-2189)

With regard to Ford's letter, Paul Koffman, Board Chairman of the Fund, on December 9, 1955, defended the Fund against Ford's criticism. Koffman said "anyone who will review the record of the Fund for the Republic will agree it has made

important contributions through educational means." (100-301637-A; 12/3/55, "Washington Post and Times-Herald")

J. Adlington Wagner, National Commander of the American Legion, referring to Ford's critical letter stated on December 3, 1955, that it "strikes a reassuring note for every American who is concerned about the Nation's security." He added, "We shall, of course, continue to criticize the Fund for the Republic so long as its activities and the expressed philosophy of its managers reflects a lack of concern for either the integrity of our governmental institutions or the immediate and present danger of the Communist conspiracy." (100-301637-A; 12/3/55 "Washington Post and Times-Herald")

Chairman Francis B. Walter of the House Committee on Un-American Activities stated "It is gratifying to learn that Henry Ford is finally disturbed by some of the activities of the Fund for the Republic...current investigations by the Committee on Un-American Activities will undoubtedly disturb Mr. Ford even more by disclosing evidence to show that the Fund deliberately intends to obstruct all investigation and control of the Communist conspiracy and to strengthen thereby the forces bent on the overthrow of this nation and its institutions.

Walter said that Ford's statement was "not carrying when one considers that the Fund regards the Communist Party... as a mere 'political party' and those who lend strength to the Communist machinations are guilty of nothing more than 'conscientious non-conformity.'" Such "shocking pronouncements" he said, "... have already disturbed millions of Americans who have long realized that the Communists themselves seek to disarm the unity by terming the Communist conspiracy a 'political party.'" (100-301637-A; Washington City News Service 12/3/55)

Miscellaneous:

Irving Forman of the Washington, D. C., office of the American Civil Liberties Union advised the Bureau on October 9, 1955, that he had spent considerable time during the previous week with Elmo Roper, member of the Board of Directors of the Fund, and Louis Harris, his partner who is active in the Fund. Both Roper and Harris agree that the Fund was engaged in political activities rather than in pioneering activities not done by other people. Both agreed that Hutchins and Ferry (W. H. Ferry, Vice

President of the Fund) have missed the boat on the kind of studies that should be made by the Fund and the nature of these studies. Both have been greatly worried by the Fulton Lewis broadcasts and they have checked up on certain things that Lewis has said (not specified) and found them to be true. Harris also told Forman that the Fund will not investigate the FBI; that there is general irritation by the Board of Directors of the Fund against Hutchins, its President. (100-331637-223)

✓ The Board of Directors of the California Republican Assembly (CRA) on October 3, 1955, demanded a Congressional investigation of the Fund, stating that "the CRA is opposed to allowing tax-free foundations to disseminate politically-tinged propaganda which could undermine the American system. (100-331637-223), ("Los Angeles Examiner," 10/10/55)

The October 14, 1955, issue of the "New York Journal-American" contained an editorial entitled "Too Bad Once," which stated that there were two shocking instances in the news the previous day illustrating how funds and foundations, professedly formed for the good of the nation, can by stupidity and blindness lose the faith of the American people. The editorial cited as one example the Fund's hiring of Amos Landman, who took the Fifth Amendment repeatedly when questioned about his Communist activities. According to the editorial, W. D. Ferry, Fund Vice President, made one of the most revealing statements of anti-anti-Communist logic when he stated that Landman was hired on a temporary per diem basis and the fact that he took the Fifth Amendment was not reason enough to bar his employment. The editorial stated, what matters is "that the Fund hired a man who crawled behind the Fifth Amendment on a matter of vital interest to this country."

The other incident referred to in the above editorial was the wire tapping of a jury room at Wichita, Kansas, by faculty members of the Chicago University Law School, financed by the Ford Foundation. The editorial claimed that this was again an example of more anti-anti-Communist thinking. (100-331637-A)

Former Representative Fred A. Hartley, head of "The National Right to Work Committee" on November 1, 1955, challenged the Fund to include "compulsory unionism" in its civil liberties investigation. Hartley said that any civil rights inquiry is meaningless unless it includes "the threat to the liberties and rights of the individual which are involved in forcing a man to join a union

in order to hold a job." Hartley said that the failure of the Fund to look into this matter has convinced him that its investigation "is a sham and a fraud." He added that the Fund's inquiry "is loaded and anything which comes out of it is suspect." (100-301037-A; Washington City News Service, 11/1/55, "Daily Worker," 11/7/55)

On November 17, 1955, Ray Cohn, former Chief Counsel to the Senate Investigating Subcommittee, stated that the day of investigations of Communist subversion in the United States is gone and is all but dead. He charged that the Ford Foundation had given "unrivaled assistance to the cause of Communism in this country," and that "the most revolting part of the whole picture is the silence of Henry Ford II and his colleagues, who are responsible for the creation of this monster." (100-301037-A; Washington City News Service, 11/13/55)

✓ Senator Joseph R. McCarthy in a speech on December 5, 1955, before the Veterans International, Chicago, Illinois, attacked the Fund as a "vicious anti-anti-Communist propaganda machine." McCarthy said that he was outraged that the Government, through tax exemption for foundations, is "subsidizing this brazen campaign to belittle the Communist menace and undermine our security program." (100-301037-A; 12/6/55, "Washington Post and Times-Herald")

✓ John O'Donnell in his column on December 2, 1955, stated that the whole Hutchins' operation and the Fund for the Republic gives off a "red stench" at its worst and a pink perfume at its best." (100-301037-A; 12/2/55, "New York Daily News")

According to the December 9, 1955, "New York Journal American," drastic changes in the setup of the Fund appear imminent. The Board of Trustees of the Ford Foundation, which sponsors the Fund, was scheduled to meet December 9, 1955, with the chief topic scheduled to be the operations and allocations of the Fund. A very important figure (unidentified) in the Ford Foundation said: "We are going to do something about it." The Bureau has received no further information in this matter. (100-301037-A)

PART V

CRITICISM OF THE FUND

(January 1, 1956, to March 31, 1956)

Earl Godwin ✓

Earl Godwin in his broadcast 12/30/55, criticized the Fund for, (1) rating the Communist Party (CP) as being as "dangerous as a taffy pull," and (2) for criticizing Congress for having labelled the CP as a dangerous organization. (62-66016-188)

David Lawrence ✓

David Lawrence in his column 1/5/56, stated that the Fund has an opportunity to redeem itself and meet the arguments of its critics that it has been using funds other than for purposes of educating the public on principles of American Government. He stated that heretofore the Fund has spent its money on projects and the distribution of books and pamphlets to minimize the communist menace and to show that the CP is merely a political party and not a conspiracy to destroy this country. (1-5-56 "Wash Star")

Lawrence stated that the Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee has been investigating the whole internal security problem in this country and has published a 100-page "Handbook for Americans." This handbook explains how the CP works and points out that the party is a "Russian-inspired, Moscow-dominated, anti-American, quasi-military conspiracy against our Government, our ideals and our freedoms." If the Fund wishes to prove its impartiality and disinterestedness, Lawrence said, it can send the above-named booklet to every school, teacher, clergyman, writer and civic and fraternal organization in this country. (1-5-56, "Washington Star," 100-391697-A)

Lawrence's suggestion was endorsed by an editorial appearing in the 1/16/56, issue of the "New York Daily News." The same newspaper carried an editorial in its 3/19/56, issue which stated that one of its readers saw the previous editorial and wrote the Fund inquiring whether such a distribution would be made. In reply the Fund wrote: "The report ... was considered for inclusion in a recent authorization by our directors for the distribution of various publications in the area of civil rights and civil liberties. It was decided that a distribution of the report would not be undertaken by the Fund." The editorial stated that no explanation was given by the Fund and maybe there isn't any explanation that the Fund's directors would care, or dare, to make public. (100-391697-A)

Fulton Lewis, Jr. ✓

In December, 1955, Fulton Lewis, Jr., made available to the public a booklet containing pertinent portions of his broadcasts during the period August 22, 1955, through October 20, 1955, concerning the Fund for the Republic. This booklet contains Lewis' critical comments against the Fund. In addition, it identifies the directors, officers and staff of the Fund. (100-391697-327)

Lewis devoted a portion of his program on 2/21/56, to a discussion of a verbal release by Senator Thomas C. Hennings speaking on behalf of his Subcommittee to Investigate Constitutional Rights. Lewis noted that the Hennings Committee had the backing of the Fund and that Hennings' comments were strictly according to the "party line" of the Fund. He stated that Senator Hennings told the committee that the greatest danger of erosion of the First Amendment was to be found in the various Government loyalty and security programs. He then went on to mention further the evils of these programs and the use of faceless informers. (94-4-2189-292)

On his 3/2/56, broadcast Lewis stated that Henry Ford, II, had recently been more critical than ever of the Fund. This criticism was leveled by Ford in a letter dated the previous week, which was in reply to a letter from Senator Styles Bridges who had written to Ford on another matter. The Senator had commented that he was one of many who had been greatly disturbed by the activities of the Fund; that he felt the Fund, with particular reference to the Freedom Agenda Program, had done irreparable harm. Senator Bridges called upon Ford to give careful consideration before allotting more money to undertakings of this character.

Lewis stated that in his reply to the Senator, Ford stated that he had gone on record by stating that the organization (Fund for the Republic) has exercised activities which have been dubious in character and which have inevitably led to charges of poor judgment. Ford pointed out, however, that the organization was independent of the Ford Foundation, and he had voiced his objections to its activities as a private citizen, but apparently his comments had had no effect whatsoever.

Lewis concluded by saying that a sizable group of Republicans and Democrats in the Senate were planning an organized demand of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue that the Fund be removed from the tax-free list because of its activities in politics and propaganda which are forbidden by law. (94-4-2189-296)

American Legion ✓

J. Addington Wagner, National Commander of the American

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Legion spoke at a public gathering at Los Angeles, California, on 1/3/56, on the subject of security and the threat of communism in the United States. He then criticized the Fund for being among those who advocate that a person who pleads the Fifth Amendment should not be suspected of wrong-doing; that he should in some instances be commended for it. Wagner commented further that the Fund's projects are not designated to promote the common good; that they are those which cannot help but gladden the hearts of the remaining members of the CP of the U. S. A., and of their Russian masters. Wagner was critical of the Fund for advocating that the CP was a "political party" and not a menace to the United States. He added that objectionable activities of the Fund present a "most serious threat to America's success in the life and death struggle with communism." He declared the Fund to be an "aid and comfort to the enemy." (100-391697-319)

Wagner in a speech before a district meeting of the American Legion at New York City on 2/18/56, renewed his attack against Hutchins, as one who refuses to see communism "as a real and present danger to America." Wagner urged that Congress examine the activities of the Fund "preliminary to determining whether its tax-free status is in the best interests of the people and the Government of the United States." He stated further that "the American Legion does not believe that the Fund has acted in the best interests of the United States under the guidance of Hutchins." ("New York Daily News," 2/19/56; 100-391697-A)

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Wagner in a speech 2/20/56, before a group of American Legion rehabilitation and services officers in the Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C., attacked the Fund and stated that the Fund attributes the real danger to the nation and its freedom to those who fight communism and not to communism itself. (2/1/56, "Washington Post and Times Herald"; 100-391697-A)

Miscellaneous

✓ The January, 1956, issue of the "American Mercury" magazine contains an article entitled "There is the 'Liberty' in Civil Liberties," written by Harold Lord Varney. The author criticizes the Fund as being one of the organizations engaged in professional civil liberties agitation today. He claimed that when the Fund's "paid pipers ask us to crusade with them for 'liberty,' they are not talking about liberty under the accepted interpretation of the Bill of Rights. They are proposing a 'new look' Bill of Rights which has been twisted and contorted by the ideologies of its proposers to include protection of subversive and subversion. They are waging a politically-motivated campaign of civil liberties whose primary activity is the smearing and the discrediting of the nations anti-communists."

The author further charged that Hutchins has loaded his generously-endowed projects with sniping operations against the anticommunists. He added that the Fund is unmistakably biased--biased in favor of those who have given aid, wittingly or unwittingly, to the communist conspiracy in America and biased against proven effective anticommunists.

PART V

CRITICISM OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FER)
(April 1, 1955, to June 30, 1956)

On 12-16-55 Della V. Dodd, admitted former Communist Party member, advised our New York Office that she was planning legal action against Richard M. Rovere, Harper and Brothers Publishing Company, and the Fund for the Republic. She explained that the May, 1955, issue of "Harper's Magazine" published an article by Rovere entitled "The Kept Witnesses," which, among others, made reference to her. She added that on 6-12-55 she addressed a letter to the publishing company pointing out that the article was libelous and wanted a retraction; however, she was denied a retraction. She subsequently learned that the Fund had distributed 25,000 copies of this article and as a result she plans to carry out her suit. (100-8951-129)

Bureau files failed to reflect that any further action has been taken by Dodd in this matter. However, the New York Division advised on 6-22-56 that a search of the records of the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, reflects no such suit. File number 7054 in the Office of the Clerk, New York State Supreme Court, reflects only two notices of appearance filed by the defendants on 6-20-56 in this matter. No complaint papers have yet been filed by Dodd. In addition the 6-7-56 issue of the "New York World Telegram and Sun" reports that Dodd is accepting \$150,000 damages in a suit against the Fund and Harper and Brothers Publishing Company for alleged libel in Rovere's article.

Fulton Lewis, Jr., stated on his broadcast 6-10-56 that he had it on good authority that the Fund, itself, originated the idea of Rovere's article, had the article written and when it was subsequently published in Harper's Magazine, it obtained 25,000 reprints of the article and distributed them to the public. (64-4-2102)

✓ According to the 4-4-56 issue of the "National Review" the Fund was rebuked by the Special Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives of the American Bar Association for the (unaccepted) grant of \$5,000 to the Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, library to make possible the employment of Mrs. Mary Knowles, who has refused to testify before a Congressional committee regarding her Communist Party record. It is noted that the grant was made

✓ by the Fund to the library in June, 1955, for its "courageous and effective defending of democratic principles" in refusing to fire Mary Knowles. (100-391697)

Regarding the above, Fulton Lewis, Jr. stated on his broadcast 4-30-56 that the Senate had voted to cite Mrs. Knowles for contempt in that she had refused to answer questions about communism before a Congressional committee. According to Lewis all the pertinent papers are being sent to the Department of Justice. (04-4-2160-303)

An editorial appearing in the 6-17-56 issue of the "Chicago Tribune," and entitled "Don Free Are You Feeling Today?" stated that when the HCUA opens its investigation of the Fund for the Republic "we hope that the committee will not overlook the mysterious incident of the matchbooks." The editorial states that the Fund, according to Russell Kirk of the "National Review" magazine, was now passing out free matchbooks imprinted with the legend "Don Free." The editorial states, this suggests that somebody in the United States doesn't feel free; that Dr. Hutchins, President of the Fund, senses a conspiracy against the exercise of the unfettered mind and valiantly meets the challenge by passing out matchbooks with a reassuring word to all passers-by.

This editorial states that the HCUA should question Hutchins about this quaint excursion into propaganda and group psychology. (100-391697-A)

The 6-22-56 issue of the "New York Daily News" contained an article entitled "Don't Forget F.R., Though," stating that although the HCUA hearing on the Fund for the Republic has been postponed indefinitely, the Fund still needs a public airing and the HCUA is the proper group to tackle that job. The editorial asserts that the Fund has done some highly questionable things including the promotion of its notion that the U. S. Communist Party is just another political movement instead of the criminal conspiracy that it is. (100-391697-A)

PART V

CRITICISM OF THE FFR (July 1, 1956 to September 30, 1956)

An article appearing in the June 27, 1956, issue of "The Lowdown" stated that Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund, has just released a study (unidentified but apparently referring to the Fund's "Three-Year Report") which indicates that "that worthy gentleman believes every communist has the moral and legal right to try to overthrow America, but that good, loyal Americans haven't the right to fight back." The article adds, "summed up, that is the philosophy that Mr. Hutchins is trying to sell the American people." It is noted that "The Lowdown" is a news letter on farm affairs published by the Washington News Syndicate, Washington, D.C. (100-391697-A)

J. Addington Wagner, then National Commander of the American Legion, advised the Bureau on 8-1-56 that the American Legion will prepare a monograph with appropriate documentations to reflect a true picture of the Legion's fight against the Fund. It will then be issued to all rank and file members at their next national convention and will serve in the future as a "bible" for Legionnaires. (100-391697-412)

The American Legion at its August, 1956, Illinois State Convention passed a resolution charging that Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund, was unsuited for the responsibility of directing the activities of the Fund and that he has been "trying to propagandize Americans into believing that communism never has been and is not now a serious danger to this country." Another resolution suggested that the Subversive Activities Control Board hold hearings on the Fund and inquire as to why the Fund should not register with the Attorney General. ("Chicago Daily News," August 2, 1956) (100-391697-A)

On 9-23-56, W.C. Daniel, National Commander of the American Legion, stated on a television program that the Fund "promotes the communist conspiracy in this country by being anti-anti-communist." Daniel added "we've never accused the Fund for the Republic as being a communist organization or even of being dominated by communists." But as an "anti-anti-communist organization," he said, "it certainly would lend itself to the spread of communist propaganda." (New York Daily News, " 9-24-56, 100-391697-A)

PART V

CRITICISM OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
(October 1, 1956 to December 31, 1956)

Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his radio broadcast of 10-11-56, stated that in the current issue of *Colliers* magazine, there is an article by Paul G. Hoffman, a director of the Fund. The article, entitled "How Eisenhower Saved the Republican Party," reports that President Eisenhower had completely reconstructed the Republican Party and had thrown out the previous Republican conceptions and had revamped the Party along the lines believed by Hoffman to be an improvement. Mr. Lewis said that this was little recommendation from one such as Hoffman. Lewis pointed out that Hoffman described in his article, a "splinter group" which consistently resisted the aims of the Party and suggested that these men should be *persona non grata* in the Party.

Mr. Lewis criticized Hoffman's views and added that this article will not sit well with the members of the Republican Party and that it comes from a "character" who has been shoved down the throats of Americans by President Eisenhower when he named Hoffman as a representative to the United Nations. (94-4-2189-344)

Mr. Lewis, in his broadcast on 10-12-56, again discussed the article by Paul Hoffman appearing in *Colliers* magazine. He said that it would be interesting to know who wrote the article for Hoffman because he was sure that Hoffman had not written it himself. Lewis stated that he suspected the ghost writer to be none other than "his very left, very pink little shadow in the Fund for the Republic, W. H. Perry." Mr. Lewis also stated that it might be constructive for the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee to begin asking some questions. He continued that if his guess was right, it definitely ties the Fund for the Republic into political activity and would void its tax-exempt status. Mr. Lewis concluded by stating that it is the height of impropriety for the Fund to put forth this article. (94-4-2189-345)

Additional criticisms against the Fund for the Republic can be found in other portions of this memorandum.

PART V

CRITICISM OF THE FUND
(January 1, 1957, to March 31, 1957)

The December, 1956, issue of "The Citizens' Council," official paper of the Citizens Councils of America, Jackson, Mississippi, contained a one-page article highly critical of the Fund for the Republic. The article states that the Fund was allegedly established to "defend and advance the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution," however, the Fund is a partisan supporter of the "Leftwing" with all that name applies. According to the article, the Fund's immediate interest is simply (a) to promote integration of the colored and white races, and (b) to attack and attempt to discredit Congressional investigating committees, the FBI, the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and similar patriotic organizations -- in a word, "to promote anti-anti-Communism."

Referring to the Fund's "Three-Year Report," released by the Fund during June, 1956, the article states that the report provides a veritable blueprint of the pattern of psychological warfare that is being waged against the South with an intensity that staggers the imagination of those who are deeply and seriously concerned about the future of our Southland and of our country. The article specifically refers to the Fund's grants to the Southern Regional Council, the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP and other organizations for continued studies and work in the field of integration and economic conditions among the minority groups. Article concludes by asking, the "Fund for (which) Republic?"

According to an article in the 2/10/57 "Washington Post and Times Herald," Representative Francis E. Walter, chairman of the HCUA stated in a foreword to the Committee's report for the year 1956, released on 2/9/57, that "the danger of communism is increasing, not receding." In this connection, he added that some of the practices of the Fund for the Republic, an "educational" foundation, have provided great "aid and comfort to the Communist apparatus, particularly in the vital area of mass communications and entertainment."

Regarding the above, the article noted that Elmo Roper, the Fund's board chairman, described Walter's charges as "fantastic." He wired Walter that releasing such statements was "incredible" in view of the fact that Walter has repeatedly denied the Fund the right to be heard. (100-391697-A)

PART 7

CRITICISM OF THE FUND
(April 1 to June 10, 1937)

Hulton Lewis, Jr., in his syndicated column 4/25/37 states that the Fund is now distributing a new "threat-beating self-defense" pamphlet entitled "The Press and the Fund for the Republic," by Frank A. Kelly, Vice-President. He states that nowhere in the pamphlet is there any indication that the Fund had anything to do with printing or distributing the pamphlet; however, it came into the office of Washington correspondents in Fund envelopes, so it's a safe assumption that the Fund is footing all the bills.

Lewis states that the pamphlet purports to be an analysis of press and radio coverage of the Fund's activities. It bills itself as an apologetic allegory to show that the coverage has been biased, misleading, and unfairly critical of the Fund. The Fund attributes a great deal of its criticism to Lewis, claiming his broadcasts are biased. Lewis Lewis replies: "The Fund claims to be a 'fed mistress,' but insists that overall, they 'are far outweighed by its many achievements.'" Regarding this, Lewis states, "Not in my estimation.... Its primary long-range objective still is to belittle the dangers of communism, and to prevent any effective investigation of Nazi or fascist atrocities; unalloyed anti-anti-communism." (107-4-1247-1)

PART V

CRITICISM OF THE FUND
(July 1 to September 30, 1957)

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his syndicated column 7/10/57 stated that the FFI "is making a blatant attempt to gloss over its malodorous past by declaiming loudly that it is shifting its approach to a defense of American civil liberties."

Lewis stated that "defending civil liberties" is broad language and can cover a multitude of sins, such as claiming there is nothing wrong with being a communist and that no stigma should be attached to those who invoke the Fifth Amendment rather than answer questions about subversive associations.

Lewis quoted a statement of the FFI which indicated that the directors and officers of the Fund had concluded that their fundamental problem was not in the "ill-observance" of the U. S. tests (Constitution, Bill of Rights and Declaration of Independence) but rather in the great changes in the circumstances and institutions of the American people, which have rendered the application of those tests to contemporary affairs so confusing and difficult a task. Lewis stated this is in explanation of the FFI's designation of "ten distinguished Americans" as consultants "to conduct an extensive inquiry in the basic issues of individual freedom and civil liberty in the U.S.," the meaning of which is also a mystery, according to Lewis.

Lewis also stated that the Fund has made no apology for its past mistakes but hopes they will be forgotten by the public. Regarding these past mistakes Lewis stated as follows:

"For instance, the Fund has never quite mastered the presumption to admit error in the unconvincing Mary Knowles case and to ask the Plymouth Monthly Meeting, near Philadelphia, to return the \$5,000 the Fund tried to 'award' it for employing the Fifth Amendment Librarian.

"It was this and other equally-deplorable activities that brought the tax-free \$15,000,000 Fund into the general disrepute from which it presently is trying to recover -- activities such as publication of its misleading bibliography of writings on Communism, its slanted study of government personnel security proceedings, its financial contributions to the defense of individuals defying the orderly processes of government.

"As happened in so many other matters involving the Fund, the slow unravelling of the full facts in the Mary Knowles case is putting it in even a worse light than appeared originally.

"The Fund always has tried to make it appear, for example, that Mrs. Knowles was fired by the Correll Library, in Norwood, Mass., because she refused to answer questions when she appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in May, 1953.

"Firing her for that reason would have been fully justified. But the minutes of the Library's Board of Trustees show that the real reason for her firing was that she refused to tell the Trustees whether she was then a Communist. The minutes of May 9 and June 1, 1953, make clear that she was given every opportunity to clear herself with a simple statement, and that her discharge was voted only after high-handed and cavalier refusal.

"It also is clear now that when the House Un-American Activities Committee held hearings a year ago on the Fund's \$5,000 'award' to Plymouth Leetling for hiring and retaining Mrs. Knowles, the defense indulged in deliberate misrepresentation. Critical and highly pertinent portions of a letter from Mrs. Knowles' former superior at Norwood, for instance, were omitted from the text submitted to the committee.

"The \$5,000 has been held in escrow for two years because Plymouth Leetling refuses to accept it. Actually, the overwhelming majority of members of that quaker group would like to get rid of Mrs. Knowles. But their library is run by a separate board of Trustees heavily loaded with 'liberals' who insist otherwise.

"The fact that the Fund made its award to the wrong body is indicative of the scandal, inquiry it made to determine the facts in the Mary Knowles case, as well as its slipshod operations generally. Nothing indicates they have improved."
(100-101607-A)

PART V

CRITICISM OF THE FUND
(Oct. 1, to Dec. 31, 1957)

The "Washington Post and Times Herald" of October 12, 1957, pg. A-13 carried an article by George L. Sokolsky which ridiculed the FFD's Basic Issues Program as set forth in the Fund's pamphlet entitled "The Free Society."

Sokolsky stated that "Such a study is worthwhile, no matter by whom it is made. The results, the conclusions, the decisions reached may be of value or not, depending upon the capabilities and integrity of those making the study and the correctness of the reporting of their discussions."

Sokolsky related some of the questions which the Fund's program proposed to study and stated that, "They may be among the important issues of the moment, although it would seem that they might be trivial compared with the realistic danger to this Republic arising out of its conflict with the Soviet universal state.... It appears to me that a study by great minds of the causes of our failure to meet the Russian attack upon us and our way of life would be more important than whether children attending parochial school should be kept off buses and prevented from receiving free orange juice."

Sokolsky further related the three functions of the Committee of Consultants which are, "to think, to discuss and to publish." And the Fund's statement that "The discussions of the committee may become models of the rational debate essential to the democratic process...."

Regarding the function, "to think" Sokolsky commented, "This is indeed a novel task, for most of the thinking in this world was not done by behest but as a voluntary action by certain individuals who could not avoid thinking. I wonder who told Aristotle that he should think."

Regarding the committee's function, "to discuss," Sokolsky commented that, "discussion undoubtedly has produced some truth. Certainly the Sanhedrin (supreme council of the Jews having religious, civil, and criminal jurisdiction) produced a volume of truth as a result of discussion, but....most of the original individuals....got their ideas out of their own heads."

Regarding "models for national debate," Sokolsky wrote, "there are many, including the debates in the Congress of the United States which have kept this country moving since we became a nation."

Sokolsky concluded his article with the following statements:

"Anyhow, we are now to have an investigation, millions of dollars worth of investigation. Too bad that Voltaire is not alive to investigate the investigators, or to curse them for the poverty of their ideas, or Joe McCarthy to haul them before his committee to discover their foibles." (100-391637-A)

PART VI

REFERENCE (September 10, 1955, to January 1, 1956):

The board of directors of the California Republican Assembly ended its quarterly meeting at Los Angeles, California, on 10-9-55 by asking the Congress to investigate the Fund for the Republic. In making the request, the directors reported that the Assembly is "opposed to allowing tax-free foundations to disseminate politically slanted propaganda which could undermine the American system." [100-331607;] (10-10-55, "New York Times")

According to the 10-10-55 issue of the "New York Times," the American Jewish League Against Communism, Inc., rejected a request for "cooperation" from the Fund. George E. Sokolsky, the League's President, said that they could not cooperate with the Fund because the League was satisfied that the Fund was not investigating Communism without bias and that this bias can be described as "anti-anti-Communist." (100-331607-A)

Irving Ferman, Washington representative of the American Civil Liberties Union, advised the Bureau on 10-10-55 that he had heard that the officers of the Fund were worried and upset, and that the Fulton Lewis broadcasts had a telling effect on them. Ferman stated that a story is going around to the effect that W. H. Ferry, Vice President of the Fund, is beaten down and is talking in terms of taking a long leave of absence and quietly bowing out. (100-331607-247)

The American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California held its 21st anniversary meeting at the Marina's Memorial Theatre, San Francisco, California, on 10-19-55. During a panel discussion on civil liberties in America, William Gottlieb, who is studying the subject for the Fund, attacked the Federal Security Program and said that he was astonished by the "incredible lack of substance" in charges that often are used to dismiss a Government employee. (10-19-55 "San Francisco News")

The Ford Foundation announced on 10-20-55 that Donald E. David, former Dean of the Graduate School of Business Administration at Harvard, would assume his duties as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Trustees of the Ford Foundation on 11-1-55. It was stated that David has been a Trustee of the Ford Foundation since May, 1943.

*Prior to 9-10-55, information of a miscellaneous nature was included under other appropriate captions. The following information does not readily fall within the captions previously set forth and is therefore being included under a separate category.

On 10-21-55 George Cokolsky called the Bureau and said that he had talked to a Mr. Moore, a publicity relations man for the Ford Motor Company, who said that David was appointed to the chairmanship of the Executive Committee of the Ford Foundation and was to devote full time toward destroying the Fund; knocking out the jury inquiries of the University of Chicago; and scrutinizing the activities of the Ford Foundation in an endeavor to rehabilitate it. (100-901027-250)

Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his 10-21-55 broadcast stated that he had been told by Senator John W. Bricker that he, Bricker, had blocked a then recent proposal for the Fund to be given the responsibility of investigating the operations of the radio and television industry. The entire job of gathering the material for a subcommittee of Congress would be turned over exclusively to the Fund which would have the full responsibility of processing this material. Lewis stated that, had this deal gone through, the Fund would have been able to conduct the alleged studies under the cloak of a Congressional committee with the power of subpoena and the full force of Congressional authority behind them. (04-4-2100-215)

Bill Dillon of the Burns Detective Agency, Washington, D. C., advised the Bureau on 10-27-55 that their New York and Washington, D. C., offices had received a contract from the Fund to check their phone lines. According to Dillon, officers of the Fund are of the opinion that their phones have been tapped and they are extremely suspicious of the possibility that three or four newspapermen have caused this action to be taken. (100-901027-261)

Chairman Francis E. Walter stated on 11-23-55 that his House Committee on Un-American Activities is investigating the Fund and will open hearings soon after Congress reconvenes in January. Mr. Walter said that the investigators began checking after the Fund, in its 1954 annual report, "criticized Congress for branding 'a political party' an international conspiracy." The Fund's criticism came, Mr. Walter said, after Congress - in the Communist control bill - said the Communist Party is part of an international conspiracy.

The Fund, in a statement issued 11-23-55 from its New York headquarters, reiterated it is "dedicated to advancing and defending the principles of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights." (100-901024-A; 11-24-55 issue "The Evening Star," "Washington City News Service," 11-23-55)

Fulton Lewis, Jr., advised the Bureau on 12/6/55 that he had contacted a William O'Neill of Akron, Ohio, who stated that he had been to Detroit, Michigan, the previous day on business. While in Detroit, considerable concern was expressed over Lewis's attacks on the Fund; that the Ford Motor Company was considerably upset and that they were losing sales and getting waves of critical mail. (100-201837; Mr. Nichols' memorandum to Mr. Tolson 12/7/55)

Leon Nacht, in his column appearing in the 12/10/55 issue of the "San Francisco Call Bulletin," a San Francisco newspaper, commented on a recent "dubious" activity of the Fund. Nacht stated that a "guidance center" has been operating for several years in New Rochelle, New York, under the directorship of Goodwin Watson, a former federal communications commissioner who was fired after a congressional investigation in 1943 for "conduct intentionally destructive of or inimical to the F.C." Nacht added that the American Legion had subsequently exposed Watson as a pro-Communist connected with numerous pro-Communist enterprises. The center refused to fire Watson and continued to receive support from the Larchmont and Ramoroneck (County) Community Chests.

According to Nacht, the Fund for the Republic in October, 1955, offered \$5000 to the Center in recognition of its support of Watson. The Fund also offered \$2000 to Larchmont and \$2000 to Ramoroneck County Community Chest. Nacht added that it was an under-the-table-deal with no publicity. However, during the negotiations information leaked to the American Legion who turned on the Fund. The Fund then announced that it had "deferred the matter indefinitely."

Erving Ferman (identified above) advised the Bureau on 12/23/55 that the Fund for the Republic survey on blacklisting had been completed; that it takes a very vigorous stand against the extent of blacklisting, but the Fund is now afraid to release it.

Ferman stated further that he had recently seen Elmo Roper (a member of the Fund's Board) and that Roper indicated that he wanted to see Congressman Katter with Dean Griswold of Harvard University regarding the so-called House Committee on Un-American Activities investigation of the Fund. He further told Ferman that the Board of Trustees is becoming more and more convinced that Hutchins is the wrong person for the job, and Ferman feels that they are pretty fed up with Hutchins. W. H. (Ping) Perry, the Fund's Vice President, is on terminal leave at the present time, according to Ferman. (Memo, Nichols to Tolson, 12/23/55, "Fund for the Republic.")

Francis E. Walter, Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, announced on December 30, 1955, that his Committee will soon call Robert M. Hutchins for testimony - probably in public - on the Fund for the Republic. Walter said that the Fund has maintained that the Communist Party is a political group and has criticized Congress for branding it part of an international conspiracy. "It is inconceivable," Walter told newsmen, "that the heads of such an organization could be so naive as to believe that the Communist Party is a political party in the usual sense of the word."

Walter said that a staff inquiry into the Fund question is already underway and that the Committee hearings will start after current investigation into alleged subversion in the National Labor Relations Board has been completed. Walter said Hutchins will be asked how the criticism of Congress got into the Fund's 1954 report. He said Hutchins' testimony "probably" will be public, although no decision has been made on this. Walter told reporters the Committee is not investigating the Fund as such, but he said it wants to find out how it happened that the Fund took what Walter said has been a consistent line of the Communists. (100-301637-A; Washington News Service 12/30/55)

Irving Ferman (previously described), advised the Bureau on December 17, 1955, that during the previous week he had lunch with Al Wirin, an attorney associated with the Los Angeles affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union and Adam Yarmolinsky, the Washington representative of the Fund for the Republic. Wirin it appears, according to Ferman, is presently engaged in securing the services of prominent attorneys to join him in submitting a brief on behalf of the defendants in the Pittsburgh Smith Act case, whose convictions the Supreme Court has agreed to review. Wirin requested the use of data being compiled by Professor Rossiter in his study of the Communist Party which is a Fund for the Republic project. The data which Wirin is interested in obtaining is that which would support the proposition that there is no clear and present or probable danger of the Communist Party to the United States. Yarmolinsky expressed doubts that Rossiter would permit the use of his material, whereupon Wirin advised that he had previously spoken to Robert Maynard Hutchins and Hallock Hoffman in California about the use of such material and they had expressed the thought that the use of such material could be effective and might be released through Rossiter prematurely so that it could be used in the brief. Wirin indicated he was going to pursue this matter further with both Hutchins and Hallock Hoffman. (Bulet to AG 12/22/55; 100-301637-321)

PART VI

MISCELLANEOUS (January 1, 1956, to March 31, 1956)

Investigation of Fund by House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA)

Fulton Lewis, Jr., advised the Bureau on 1-4-56 that Congressman Walter, Chairman of the HCUA, told him that Irving Ferman, contacted him to say that Elmo Roper and Dean Griswold wanted to talk to Walter about the proposed investigation of the Fund by the HCUA. Ferman told Walter that Roper and Griswold had come to the view that the Fund would have to get rid of Hutchins because his presence was discrediting many of the good things of the Fund.

Walter further told Lewis that about ten days earlier he had received a letter from Bethuel Webster, counsel for the Fund, who wanted to talk to him about the investigation of the Fund. Walter concludes that they are trying to work some kind of a deal to avoid the investigation and to kill it. Lewis said he is going to try to make this impossible.

(100-331637-319)

Irving Ferman advised Mr. Nichols in confidence on 1-5-56 that Elmo Roper was in town on that date and he had arranged an appointment for Congressman Walter to talk with Roper. Congressman Walter immediately began talking about the procommunist position of Hutchins and Roper began presenting documents which showed that Hutchins had claimed that communism was an enemy of the United States. At that point, Ferman changed the attack and pointed out that the Fund was utilizing tax-exempt funds for propaganda purposes. Walter then gave Roper a bad time on this matter. Ferman is now convinced that the only way the Fund can be proceeded against is on the basis of tax-exempt funds, and he believes Walter will proceed in this direction. Roper confided that the Board of Directors of the Fund was in complete chaos and that three members wanted to get out; that the general counsel, Bethuel Webster, wanted to leave and Paul Hoffman wanted to find a way of giving the money away and quitting and that Hoffman had called a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Fund for Saturday, 1-7-56.

(Memo Nichols to Tolson 1-6-56, 100-331637)

During his 1-12-56 broadcast, Fulton Lewis, Jr., stated that the Fund was having internal trouble. He explained that at a Board of Directors meeting on 1-7-56 it was necessary to dissuade three directors (unnamed) from resigning. Criticism of the operations of the Fund was very severe at this meeting. Oddly enough, Lewis stated, the criticism was not so much about what the Fund has accomplished but related to the public relations side -- the manner in which projects had been presented to the public. Lewis noted that this was significant as either the members of the Board don't realize what is going on or are not taking the time to look beyond the glamorous and idealistic titles of the various Fund projects, and they are too "stupid and gullible" to note the real purpose and objectives of some of the projects of the Fund. (92-4-2169-272)

Karl Baarslay, former investigator with the McCarthy Committee and presently connected with the HCUA, advised the Bureau on 1-12-56 that he is doing research on the Fund. Fulton Lewis' staff has given him considerable information thus far and the American Legion has indicated a willingness to cooperate. He added that nothing could be done concerning the hearings on the Fund until after March, 1956, when Congressman Walter returned from Europe. (61-7582-2042)

At a press conference on 1-16-56 at Seattle, Washington, Hutchins told reporters that the charges made against him and his associates at the Fund by the HCUA were "flimsy and unintelligible." He added, "I can't conceive of an investigation on grounds so flimsy." Hutchins was asked about Representative Walter's accusation that the Fund's annual report (May 31, 1955) referred to the Communist Party as a "political party" and criticized Congress for labeling it "part of an international conspiracy." Hutchins admitted that the report "in discussing another question" claimed in passing that the Communist Party is a "political party." He explained that the remark was merely a passing reference. He denied emphatically that the report criticized Congress. (1-17-56, "Seattle Post Intelligencer," 100-391697-A)

Other Information

✓ The October, 1955, issue of "The Virginian," a monthly "states' rights" paper published and circulated by The Virginia League, Newport News, Virginia, carried an article captioned "Left Fund Meddles in Virginia School Affairs."

✓ According to the article the Virginia Council on Human Relations (not further described) was organized in February, 1955, and was financed by "the infamous 'Fund for the Republic' of the Ford Foundation." The article went on to state that it is well known that the Fund specializes in financing left-wing organizations and groups and had been denounced by the American Legion and on the floor of the United States Congress. (105-38960-18)

✓ According to an informant who has furnished reliable information in the past, "The Virginia League" was formed in June, 1955, for the purpose of advocating segregation between the white and colored and the opposition to the Supreme Court ruling on integration in public schools. (105-38960-19, 18)

On 1-9-56 information was received from an informant who furnished reliable information in the past that [redacted] stated that he was interested in doing a book on the Fifth Amendment. He suggested that the informant [redacted] who was doing research on the matter and perhaps he could obtain financial support from the Fund. When the informant questioned the fund making such monies available, [redacted] stated that [redacted] implying the Fund wished to unburden itself of any procommunist stigma. [redacted] (65-9940-300)

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A potential security informant has advised our Los Angeles Office of having received information relative to the Fund having been approached for funds. [redacted]

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[redacted] (LA airtel 3-3-56; Any dissemination of the above should be most circumspect as informant is only person in Los Angeles familiar with matter.)

It is noted that both the Chairman and Executive Secretary [redacted] have been identified in the past as members [redacted] Communist Party in San Francisco. [redacted] (100-422004-2; 100-391697-349)

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PART VI

MISCELLANEOUS

(April 1, 1950, to June 30, 1950)

Committee Against Waterfront Screening (CAW)

A potential security informant of our Los Angeles Office advised on 2/9/50 that [redacted] San Francisco, California, had approached the Fund for the Republic for financial assistance, as it was having a hard time financially. It is noted that [redacted] have been identified as members of Communist Party, San Francisco. (100-422774-2, 100-391607-340)

b7D

The [redacted] stated that in answer to [redacted] asking for financial help from Robert Hutchins, president of the FFR, Hutchins stated, "The Fund... is not permitted to make grants except to tax-exempt organizations... nor attempt to influence legislation..." The article went on to say that [redacted] thanked Dr. Hutchins for his prompt reply but suggested other forms of help, in keeping with the charter of the Fund, might be considered, such as a grant to a university for the purpose of a thorough study of the Unconstitutional Screening program. (100-422774-8)

b7D

HCUA Investigation of the Fund

(Cont)

The HCUA announced on June 11, 1950, that it would open hearings June 27 to determine whether the Fund for the Republic is "friend or foe" in the struggle against communism. Committee chairman Francis B. Walter said that Congress should learn whether the Fund, which is supported by the Ford Foundation and enjoys tax immunity, is "serving an interest inimical to our basic traditions." Walter said that the Fund is financing a "number of activities" which have been criticized by members of Congress and patriotic organizations. (Washington Post and Times Herald, 100-422774-1, 6/12/50) (100-391607-A)

Karl Pearson, a member of the HCUA's staff who is handling the investigation of the Fund, advised the Bureau on 5/24/50 that in connection with its hearings on the Fund, J. Aldington Wagner of the American Legion will be the first witness called. Other witnesses will be Godfrey Schmidt, who will testify concerning the Fund's blacklisting of individuals in the entertainment field.

James Burnham, who is reportedly an authority on international communism; J. D. Matthews and Francis McNamara, who is director of Americana for the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Eversley issued an invitation for former Assistant to the Director D. K. Ladd to testify concerning the ill effect that the survey on the loyalty-security program had on the general public, but Ladd declined.

Eversley and Chairman Walter felt that after the above witnesses have testified, Robert Hutchins will be so incensed that he will want to appear before the committee. The committee also plans to subpoena Anas Landman, Earl Browder and Alan Martin, all of whom have been used by the Fund in some capacity. (100-301697-379)

The 6/12/50 issue of the "Daily Worker" carried an article critical of HCUA's proposed investigation of the Fund, claiming that the only reason for the committee's existence is the "Red Scare." According to the paper, the Fund is supposedly anticommunist and for free and public political discussion. The Fund has not hesitated to make grants for the publishing of material that defends the Constitution of the United States. According to the article, the HCUA can continue to do grave damage to this country, and there should be a major effort to curb this committee. (100-301697-A)

J. A. Edington Egan of the American Legion advised the Bureau on 6/19/50 that James O'Neill, publisher of the American Legion magazine, had discussed the proposed hearings on the Fund with Chairman Walter of the HCUA, and that O'Neill at Egan's instructions had pointed out the inadequacy of the committee's preparation to hold such hearings. Chairman Walter agreed and the hearings have been indefinitely postponed. (Memo Nichols to Tolson 6/19/50, 100-301697)

The Washington City News Service carried an announcement on 6/20/50 that the HCUA had postponed its hearings on the Fund indefinitely. Committee Chairman Walter said that the inquiry has not been abandoned, even though no new date was set. He said preliminary staff work had gone slower than expected and that there was no pressure of any kind brought to bear on him. "It is just that a number of things have happened that prevented the staff from completing its inquiry," Walter said. Walter added that the delay was necessary to permit the staff to examine certain additional facets of the Fund's activities. A committee source said that some of the new lines of inquiry appeared to be more promising than those on which the staff had worked previously. (100-301697-A)

On 6/21/50 Richard Arons, chief counsel for the HCUA, publicly announced that the committee's investigation of the Fund would not be held this year because of the July-August political

✓ Conventions and a Committee rule against holding hearings within 60 days of an election. Arens denied rumors that prospective witnesses had backed out. (Washington Post and Times Herald, 6/22/56, (100-391637-A)

The Fund's Three-year Report

According to the "New York Times," 6/22/56, the Fund made public on 6/21/56 a report on its first three years' operations. Hutchins reported that to date the Fund has spent \$5,414,201 of the 15 million dollars given to it by the Ford Foundation. He said that the largest amount, about one-third, was spent to promote better race relations. Almost as much was spent to stimulate discussion of basic American documents on civil liberties. His report classified the Fund's work in these categories: to study communism in the United States, to work for equality before the law and equality of opportunity, to make the Bill of Rights a living document, to maintain due process and the principles that underline it, and to maintain freedom of speech and belief. Hutchins said, "The Fund is studying communism in the United States in order to determine its influence, direct or indirect, on civil liberties. The Fund regards communism as a threat to civil liberties, but it was not organized solely to oppose communism; it was organized to study and disclose the facts about all threats to civil liberties, including communism."

Hutchins stressed the independence of individuals and groups making studies and reports for the Fund and receiving grants from the Fund. While the Fund vouches for the integrity of the authors of these reports, he added, it does not take responsibility for their selection of facts or the accuracy of their statements. He said any recommendations made were those of the recipients of the grants.

The report indicated that the Fund's present trend was toward concentrating attention on race relations, especially by promoting a modern and biracial approach in the churches and in the Southern Regional Council to the problem of desegregation in the South's public schools. Religious organizations of various denominations have received \$732,000 to promote better race relations. The Southern Regional Council/successive grants has received \$445,000, the largest sum of money going to any single beneficiary.

According to the report, as of 5/1/56 the Fund had a balance of \$10,326,145. Its three-year expenditures include \$2,246,849 in grants, \$1,710,704 in projects, \$182,513 in program development and \$1,274,056 in administrative expenses. It is noted that the Bureau has a copy of this report.

(Lewis is referring to the funds' "Three-Year Report" a copy of which is being enclosed herewith)

Fulton Lewis, Jr. stated on 6/21/56 that the Fund has issued a report which he assumes is the annual report, giving a "rosy picture" of the Fund's accomplishments. In this report Paul Hoffman says that the Fund has "sought to do something about the erosion of our ancient liberties, to work against racial discrimination, and to promote a wider understanding of our heritage of freedom and justice in developing a strong, enterprising America." Lewis said that when translated into acts and accomplishments these words relate to a picture which is "sinisterly different." "It is, instead, a picture of planned attack and sabotage against the Federal Government loyalty-security program, against Congressional investigation into communist and other subversive activities and a general organized effort in the field of racial relations to follow the standard communist tactic of arousing racial strife and friction as a means of inflating trouble and disharmony on which to play for their own communist advantage." (64-4-2109)

Other Information

On 4/24/56 Mrs. Joyce Kornbluh, who identified herself as being with the Fund for the Republic, called and requested that she be furnished a quotation which the Director made in 1954. She stated that she desired this quotation to include in material on civil liberties being prepared by the Fund. She recalled that in 1953 or 1954 Mr. Hoover gave out some kind of a statement asking that information be reported to the FBI. A few weeks later, she understood, Mr. Hoover gave out another statement decrying hysteria, and that this statement was picked up by the "New York Times." It was her understanding that the two statements were inconsistent, and that the second in effect retracted the first. She said that the second statement was an excellent quotation which she wanted to use. Bureau files are negative concerning Mrs. Kornbluh. (100-391697-573)

The Los Angeles division advised the Bureau on 5/2/56 of having received information to the effect that the Twentieth Century Fox Studios had purchased the Abraham Chasnow story. (Chasnow, a Navy employee, was suspended on security charges and later reinstated with apologies from the Navy.) Philip Dunne is preparing a story which is allegedly going to point out the fallacy of the Personnel Security Program, based on a survey made by the Fund by Adam Yarmolinsky. Paul Jacobs, who is connected with the Fund and the American Civil Liberties Union, and Adam Yarmolinsky reportedly have been very active in collaborating with Dunne on the script. Dunne will attempt to obtain Navy approval of the script. (121-43153-24)

Fulton Lewis, Jr. on his broadcast 5/16/56 stated that he verified the fact that Twentieth Century Fox bought the Chasanow story and planned to make a picture, but that the studio denied accepting any help from Yarnalinsky and Jacobs. The studio said that if the Navy did not approve their script, they would not make the picture. (64-4-2199-310)

Former Assistant Director Tracy advised the Bureau on 5/16/56 that the Commission on Government Security is looking into the proposed Chasanow picture. They took the matter up with the Navy Department on 5/16/56, and the Navy stated they had had a request for cooperation which the Navy is now going to decline. Tom Donegan reported this picture to Lee Cobb of the White House, and orders are being issued from the White House to the Navy Department to oppose this picture. (121-43157-24)

Fulton Lewis, Jr. on his 6/21/56 broadcast mentioned an incident in Santa Anna, California, involving two Negro girl students at Chapman College. He read an article from the "Santa Anna Register" stating that the two students were ousted from their apartment because they were Negroes; that they refused to cooperate with a "leftist civil rights group hoping to make a television movie of the incident"; that Herbert Bernard, a former writer now with the Fund for the Republic as a news film producer, called one of the girls "pig headed"; that the girls said they felt discrimination is an internal problem for the United States and that they did not feel they should take a stand; that the girls are natives of Panama and they felt relations between Panama and America might be endangered if they cooperated with Bernard's project; that Bernard told the girls films of the incident would be helpful to the United States and said his group makes films of civil rights incidents which, according to a Fund employee, are distributed free of charge to television stations; and that Bernard denied that the girls' story would have been slanted-- "We're not loading it. We are merely reporting it." Mr. Lewis said that he feels the two girls are to be highly commended for making a much greater contribution to the cause of better racial relations than the Fund for the Republic had any sincere intention of doing. (64-4-2163)

~~Bureau files are negative concerning Bernard.~~

Our files fail to reflect any information identifiable with Herbert Bernard.

PART VI

MISCELLANEOUS (July 1, 1956, to September 30, 1956)

On July 18, 1956, a subcommittee of the HCUA began hearings at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to determine the reason behind the Fund's \$5,000 award to the William Jeane Memorial Library, Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, in June, 1955, for its "courageous and effective defense of democratic principles" for hiring and refusing to fire Mary Knowles, a librarian, who previously refused to discuss past Communist Party activities while testifying before a Senate Committee in 1953 and 1955. During the hearing Isaac Shephard, former treasurer of the library testified that the hiring of Knowles had caused considerable dissension and that the award was still in escrow. Mrs. Lillian P. Tapley, chairman of the library committee testified that within five minutes after meeting Knowles, she (Knowles) told her about her appearance before the Senate Committee and association with the Samuel Adams School, Boston, Massachusetts. Tapley said she also knew this school was cited by the Attorney General. Judge George C. Corson, a member of the Plymouth Friends Meeting, testified that the majority of the Quaker body was "absolutely opposed to retaining Mrs. Knowles." He added that the group had been "stigmatized" by the Fund's award. Henry Hensley, former member of the library committee, stated that at one of the meetings he asked Mrs. Knowles regarding her Communist Party membership. She made no reply. At a later date he asked her again but she refused to answer. Hiring Mrs. Knowles, he said, has divided the community. Mrs. Laureen Black Odgen, an investigator for the Fund testified that she had investigated the Quaker group and recommended that the \$5,000 award be made to the group's library fund. She stated that it was not her duty to probe into the past of Mrs. Knowles before recommending the award being given; nor was it part of her assignment to read Mrs. Knowles' previous testimony before the HCUA. Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson, a member of the Fund's Board of Directors and chairman of the committee which recommended the award to the Plymouth Friends Meeting, appeared at the HCUA hearing but was not called as a witness. For this she was sharply critical of the committee. (The Philadelphia "Inquirer" 7-19-56, 100-301697-A)

On 7-19-56 a committee of the William Jeane Memorial Library issued a public statement to the effect that it "remains satisfied with the qualifications of Mrs. Knowles as both a

for actual public
since HCUA testimony
pamphlet, see serial
#438

citizen and as a librarian." The statement also stated that "Mrs. Knowles has sworn that she had no subversive associations since 1947, and no evidence has been produced to the contrary. Unless, or until, evidence is produced indicating activity inimical to our democratic form of government, we envision no change in our relationship with her." The statement also questioned the value of the ECIA hearing into the Fund's \$5,000 award to the Quaker library. The statement was signed by Mrs. Lillian L. Tapley, chairman of the committee; Mrs. Mary R. Chapple; Ray Eiday; Miss Alice Ambler; and John Archibald.

On 7/25/56 the Plymouth Meeting Library issued a statement protesting congressional interference with their affairs. They charged that the ECIA hearing at Philadelphia 7/17, 18/56 was a "travesty upon the word investigation and a mockery of the idea of inquiry." (Washington City News Service 7/25/56, 100-891627-A)

An editorial appearing in the 7/23/56 issue of the "Knowville Journal," in referring to the Fund's \$5,000 award to the Plymouth Meeting Library, commented that "the Fund for the Republic has done it again." According to the editorial, "the incident provides another chapter in the history of the foundation which believes that the Communist Party is just another political organization." The editorial was critical of the Fund's awarding tax-exempt funds for such a purpose and asked "how long will Congress permit this kind of injustice to the great majority of federal tax payers to go on?" The editorial added that "in the words of one of the members of the group, the Fund stigmatized the organization about the gift, in effect implying it was sympathetic toward communism." (100-891627-A)

Representative Walter advised the Bureau on 9/11/56 that he was becoming more and more discouraged regarding his committee's inquiry into the Fund; that intense pressure was being brought upon him but he was not giving up the fight. The previous week he told Sherman Adams of the White House that unless the President can fit to overrule the Treasury Department and remove the Fund's tax-exempt status, he (Walter) was going to embarrass the President. He felt certain his threat would bring results with the President. He felt this threat was necessary as he had heard Paul Hoffman had prevailed upon the White House and the Treasury Department to keep the Fund's tax-exempt status despite the fact that the New York Office of Internal Revenue Service had recommended such status be removed.

Regarding the pressure being put on him, Walter stated that two of his friends, Hugh Moore and Ned For, who reside in his Congressional District in Pennsylvania, have begged him to drop the fight against the Fund. He has learned that they were approached by an attorney named Webster who caused considerable interruption during the HCUA hearing on the Fund in July, 1956. (This is Bethuel W. Webster, who is the attorney for the Fund). Walter added that by checking income tax returns with the Treasury Department he has learned that the Fund paid Elmer Roper \$40,000 to write articles against Representative Walter and \$39,000 to Attorney Webster to create havoc at the HCUA hearing on the Fund. Walter added that despite this pressure on him he intended to carry on his fight against the Fund. (Memo LeLoach to Nichols 9-11-56; 100-391697-420)

James Warner of the "New York Herald Tribune" advised Mr. Nichols on 9-26-56 that Paul Hoffman had recently been in touch with Brownie Reid and was complaining about the tactics of Congressman Walter in investigating the Fund and wanted Brownie to have a newspaper expose made of this. Warner said that Reid personally called to tell him about this matter and asked that he check into the situation to see what was being done. Reid did not ask for any story to be written. Reid further told Warner that Paul Hoffman had suggested that they plant a dummy at a White House Press Conference along the lines as to whether Congressman Walter was devoting too much time and energy to investigating the Fund. This Reid flatly refused to do and Warner agreed that this was a proper procedure. The Director noted "I have advised Magerty. H" (Memo Nichols to Tolson, 10-1-56; 100-391697)

PART VI

MISCELLANEOUS

(October 1, 1956, to December 31, 1956)

Irving Ferman, Washington representative of the American Civil Liberties Union, advised Mr. Nichols on 1/17/56, that he had had lunch with Robert Hutchins recently. Ferman said Hutchins was quite personable and has shed a large amount of belligerency. One of the most significant things mentioned was that when Hutchins organized the Fund, he hoped to develop it as a mass communications media and in this he failed. Hutchins also intimated strongly that Paul Hoffman was a liability to the Fund and that Elmo Roper was a strong candidate for his job. (It is noted that Roper did recently assume Hoffman's job as chairman of the Fund's Board of Directors.)

Ferman said that the Fund's study of "Fear in Education," being made by Louis Harris, partner of Roper's, will be out by the end of this year. Harris told Ferman that he found no fear in education, rather he found considerable belligerency and antagonism from the outside.

Ferman added that the Fund is getting ready to give a dinner for Harry F. Cain, formerly with the Subversive Activities Control Board, and will give him an award, the details unknown.

Ferman stated further that George Eddy, a former Treasury Department employee, who was involved in either a loyalty or security case, is now writing a book which seeks to clear Harry Dexter White, Alger Hiss, and William Remington and to prove that they were railroaded. (100-391697-430)

Eddy appears to be identical with George Alfred Eddy, former Treasury Department employee, who was the subject of a loyalty investigation conducted by the Bureau in 1954 based on his association with alleged communists. The Security Board of the Treasury Department held that although the above charges were substantiated, they did not constitute grounds for dismissal under EO 10450. On 6/14/55, the Treasury Department dismissed Eddy on the grounds of unsuitability, however, he was reinstated and was allowed to resign on 6/30/55. Bureau files fail to show any connection between Eddy and the Fund for the Republic. (121-8616)

Thomas J. Donegan, Personnel Security Advisory Committee, Executive Office Building, Washington, D. C., on 10/19/56, furnished Mr. Nichols with an exchange of correspondence between Albert Pratt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy and the 20th Century Fox movie studio, regarding negotiations had concerning the production of a movie called "Three Brave Men." The movie, which portrays the story of Abraham Chassinow, the Navy employee suspended on security

charges and later reinstated with apologies from the Navy, was being written by Philip Dunne and will allegedly point out fallacies of the Personnel Security Program. The Bureau previously received information that Paul Jacobs and Adam Yarmolinsky of the Fund for the Republic have been very active in collaborating with Dunne on the script. (62-103526-4)

Fulton Lewis, Jr., informed Mr. Nichols on 10/30/56, that Tex Talbot of California had informed him that he had received a letter from Governor Fyle of the White House stating that the Department of Justice has held that there was nothing wrong in the operation of the Fund for the Republic. This, Lewis finds difficult to believe and he told Mr. Nichols he was going to take the matter up with the Attorney General. Lewis has made no additional mention of this to the Bureau. (100-391697-431)

Fred Mullen, of the Department, advised Mr. Nichols on 11/15/56 that John Lindsay, of the Department, is about to resign and retire to his law firm in New York City. Mullen believed that Lindsay was with the same law firm as Bethuel Webster, who is the general counsel for the Fund for the Republic. It is noted that while in the Department, Lindsay has seen material that the Bureau has sent to the Department regarding the Fund for the Republic. (100-391697-483)

It is noted that Lindsay did resign from the Department effective 12/31/56, however, his present employment is unknown.

PART VI

MISCELLANEOUS

(January 1, 1957, to March 31, 1957)

The Bureau has previously received information indicating that Paul Jacobs and Adam Yarmolinsky of the Fund for the Republic have been very active in collaborating with Philip Dunne on the script of a movie entitled "Three Brave Men," which was being produced by 20th Century Fox and allegedly points out fallacies in the Personnel Security Program. The movie reportedly portrays the story of Abraham Chasanow, the Navy employee suspended on security charges and later reinstated with apologies from the Navy. (62-103526-4)

As indicated in the 2/18/57 column of James O'Neill, Jr., movie critic for the "Washington Daily News," the movie "Three Brave Men" was then showing at the Capitol Theatre. O'Neill states that the picture is a "dull one"; that it is largely fiction and second-rate fiction at that. He adds that the script is a rough rewrite of the Pulitzer Prize-winning series originally written by Anthony Lewis who was then a reporter for the "Washington Daily News." According to O'Neill, the picture bears only a faint resemblance of the facts and does not tell the real story.

Jay Carmody, movie critic for the Washington "Evening Star" also reviewed the movie in his 2/16/57 column. Contrary to O'Neill's review, Carmody states that the movie followed faithfully Lewis' story of the Chasanow case. He states that "it is always clear that Chasanow and his lawyer are fighting to prove his innocence, not that the Government's loyalty program is grossly guilty."

Columnist George Sokolsky advised Mr. Nichols on 2/25/57 that Dr. Held, president of the Ford Foundation, advised him that the Foundation was frantically trying to divorce itself from the Fund for the Republic. Sokolsky said he suggested to Held that the Foundation could do so by denouncing the Fund, by writing letters to everybody who links the Fund with the Foundation and to disavow and condemn the Fund. Sokolsky doubts whether Held will engage in such extreme tactics. (Memo, Nichols to Tolson, dated 2/27/57; 100-418797-76)

On 2/20/57, candidates for election to the San Diego City Board of Education spoke before a meeting of the San Diego Republican Women (Eastern). William P. Elser, candidate for re-election was challenged because of Board of Education action in allowing Hutchins, President of the Fund, to speak at La Jolla, California, High School on 4/3/57. Elser, according to San Diego newspapers on 2/21/57 said he had looked into the Hutchins matter

when an application for a speaking permit was made, and had checked with available sources including the FBI. "The FBI told us," Elser said, "there is no record that Eutkina has been connected with subversive actions." The files of the Bureau and the San Diego Office fail to reflect any pertinent information identifiable with Elser.

San Diego advised the Bureau by letter 3/7/57 that Elser had contacted them on 2/18/57 but was furnished no information. Elser, when interviewed, on 2/25/57, claimed that he had been misquoted by the local papers; that he had stated during his speech on 2/20/57 that he had contacted the FBI re Eutkina but was furnished no information. Elser, when re-contacted by San Diego on 3/13/57, pursuant to Bureau instructions, stated he regretted that this situation had occurred and was convinced that it was the work of his political opponents. He added that he intended at his first opportunity to make fully clear to the press the true circumstances regarding this situation and to stress the fact that at no time was he provided with information by the FBI. (62-103230)

PART VI

MISCELLANEOUS
(April 1 to June 30, 1957)

House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA)
Investigation of the Fund

On April 1, 1957, Mrs. Philip L. Corson, Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, who has been active in opposing Mary Knowles as librarian of the William Jeannes Memorial Library, advised our Philadelphia Office that Karl Eaarslag, of the HCUA, visited her on that date and stated that the committee was continuing its investigation of the Fund for the Republic (FFR). In fact, he stated, it is contemplated that Harry E. Sprogell, who was the legal counsel for Mrs. Lillian P. Tapley, Library Chairman, would eventually be called before the committee. Mrs. Corson added that she believes that Sprogell is the person who interested the Fund in the Mary Knowles situation at the William Jeannes Memorial Library. (100-425037-1)

It is noted that on July 10, 1956, a subcommittee of the HCUA began hearings at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to determine the reason behind the Fund's \$5000 award to the William Jeannes Memorial Library, Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, in June, 1955, for hiring and refusing to fire Mary Knowles, a librarian who previously refused to discuss past Communist Party activities while testifying before a Senate Subcommittee in 1953 and 1955. A copy of the above HCUA public hearing may be found in Bufile 100-391637-430.

Sprogell has not been investigated by the Bureau. Bufiles reflect that he has been active in the American Civil Liberties Union and was appointed treasurer of the Philadelphia Branch in June, 1955. During the above-mentioned hearings by the HCUA, it was determined that the Fund's award to the Plymouth Meeting Library regarding Mary Knowles was based on a memorandum recommending same submitted in April, 1955, by Sprogell, also a member of the religious Society of Friends, Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania. (61-193-424; 100-391637-430)

PART VI

MICHAEL LANE 103
(July 1 to Sept. 30, 1957)

Alleged Association with the Coorsach Press
Club of New York

By letter dated 8-21-57, Mr. Eaten Ramey of the Coorsach Press Club of New York (CPC) advised the Bureau that Cecil Brown had suggested an association between the CPC and the FBI. The nature of this association was not explained by Mr. Ramey. (100-201607-470)

The "Daily Worker," an East Coast communist newspaper, of 12-31-46, page 6, reflected that Cecil Brown of the Mutual Broadcasting System was out to five minutes a week as a result of being singled out by the Rankin Congressional Committee for a review of his scripts with the thought of holding hearings on his political views. On 8-1-49, it was reported that Brown claimed he was suppressed by the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) because of his "liberal" views, but had been officially released because he had failed to render the objective reporting required by CBS. By letter dated 6-17-57 the Los Angeles Office advised its files contain several nonspecific complaints which alleged that Brown's newscasts seemed to be procommunist. (100-240022-4; 100-240022-200 p. 30; 100-20042.)

Regarding the association between the CPC and the FBI Eaten Ramey stated it was certain to bring loud repercussions from a large segment of the Coorsach Press Club membership. Ramey further stated, "In my opinion, this is another case of left wingers trying to move in and infiltrate a reputable organization for their use as a public forum. Speaking as an Coorsach Press Club member, we certainly should have no part of it, no matter in what guise it is presented." (100-201607-472)

PAGE VI

RECEIVED

(Jan. 1, to March 31, 1959)

FBI Refusal to Cooperate with LSCA

In its report of findings regarding the FBI, it was indicated the LSCA had, during its investigation of the FBI, requested of the FBI, facilities in New York City for members of the LSCA staff to review documents relating to the Fund's activities since December, 1955. On April 10, 1957 the Committee was advised by Fund Counsel Nathaniel Webster, that the board had not yet considered the request. Webster also said "I shall not advise that this request be granted." On May 24, 1957 Webster personally called upon the Committee's staff director and stated he had been instructed by the board of directors of the Fund to say that the Fund would not permit a review (by LSCA investigators) of countless additional documents relating to the operations of the Fund.

The LSCA report further reflected that on June 4, 1957, LSCA made a request of the FBI for some original documents and shortly thereafter the Supreme Court handed down its decision in the John E. Wackins suit. The LSCA report stated as follows: "Without mentioning the decision, Fund counsel interpreted it...and advised that 'the data now or heretofore supplied at your request are not regarded by the Fund as pertinent to an investigation by your committee.' 'It is our position' concluded Webster, 'that in the future the Fund will not continue to supply from its files internal papers and information not relevant to a proper inquiry.'"

The LSCA report set forth reasons why the requested material was proper and within LSCA's jurisdiction. The LSCA took the position that "this refusal to open its files disqualifies the Fund as a tax-exempt organization. What strictly educational, religious, or charitable organization would hide its operations from the Congress of the U. S., the very body from which it received the authority to spend its inheritance without the burden of taxes."

(Pages 58 and 59 LSCA Report)

Expenditure to Combat Criticism of the FFI

The ESUA report of its findings regarding the FFI reflected that the FFI "has spent tens and tens of thousands of dollars of tax-exempt money, to obtain newspaper, radio and television coverage to learn what is written and said about the Fund for the Republic. It has spent sums in excess of these amounts to attack those who question the integrity of the Fund's operations. The Committee is unable to state the exact amount which has been spent by the Fund for the Republic in this activity. An indication of the amount spent we believe is reflected by the expenditure of over \$7,000 to hire a public relations firm to prepare script and to purchase radio time for spot announcements following the program of a radio news commentator who questioned the Fund's activities." (page 39)

PART VI
MISCELLANEOUS
(April 1, to June 30, 1958)

ALLEGED ATTACK ON THE VERACITY OF MATERIAL IN THE DIRECTOR'S
BOOK "MASTERS OF DECEIT."

On May 16, 1958, Matthew Cvetlic, a former Bureau confidential informant who was discontinued for revealing his informant status and excessive use of intoxicants, advised he had received information from a "source" that some of the communists working for either the Ford Foundation or the Fund for the Republic were getting ready to "do a job" on Mr. Hoover. Cvetlic stated the "job" would consist of an attack on the veracity of the material contained in the book "Masters of Deceit." He assumed that George Marshall, Wayne McMillan and Earl Browder would spearhead this verbal attack because he had a faint recollection they had been connected with the Ford Foundation or the Fund for the Republic. Cvetlic refused to identify his source and was of the opinion the source obtained the information from a public anticommunist source in Pasadena, California.

A check of Dufiles does not indicate George Marshall or Wayne McMillan have been affiliated with the FFR. Earl Browder was hired by the Fund in 1955 as a source of information and raw material and was paid on a regular fee and paid commentator basis. (100-372403-433)

Memo of Mr. Belmont to Mr. Boardman dated May 20, 1958, reflected that the Los Angeles Office conducted investigation into this matter, and it was observed that there was no apparent basis for Cvetlic's statement that individuals were planning an attack on the Director. (100-372403-435)

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS DESIGNATED BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL PURSUANT TO EXECUTIVE ORDER 10450 OR CITED BY CONGRESSIONAL OR STATE COMMITTEES

~~With one exception~~, Organizations and publications listed hereinafter have been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450 or have been cited by congressional or state committees.

Those cited by congressional or state committees are listed in the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C. revised and published as of January 2, 1957, unless otherwise indicated. Those cited only by committees have been identified with the page number of the Guide following the organization or publication.

Those designated by the Attorney General have been identified with the notation (Executive Order 10450) following the name of the organization or publication.

Abraham Lincoln Brigade (Executive Order 10450)

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (Guide, p. 7)

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (Executive Order 10450)

American Committee to Save Refugees (Guide, p. 8)

American Committee for Spanish Freedom (Executive Order 10450)

American League for Peace and Democracy (Executive Order 10450)

American Peace Mobilization (Executive Order 10450)

American Rescue Ship Mission (Executive Order 10450)

American Russian Institute, New York (also known as the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union) Philadelphia and San Francisco (Executive Order 10450)

American Russian Institute of Southern California, Los Angeles (Executive Order 10450)

American Student Union (Guide, p. 18)

American Youth Congress (Executive Order 10450)
 California Labor School, Inc. (Executive Order 10450)
 Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder (Executive Order 10450)
 Civil Rights Congress (Executive Order 10450)
 Committee for the Care of Young Children in Wartime (Guide,
 edition published May 14, 1951, p. 37)
 Committee for Concerted Peace Efforts (Guide, p. 27)
 Committee for Defense of Public Education (Guide, p. 28)
 Committee of One Thousand (Guide, p. 118)
 Communist Party, USA (Executive Order 10450)
 Communist Political Association (Executive Order 10450)
 Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo (Guide, p. 35)
 Council for Pan-American Democracy (Executive Order 10450)
 Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (Guide, p. 38)
 Harvard Student Union (chapter of American Student Union) (Guide,
 p. 18)
 Hollywood Writers Mobilization (Guide, p. 43)
 Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Pro-
 fessions (Guide, p. 44)
 Independent Socialist League (Executive Order 10450)
 Institute of Pacific Relations (Guide p. 45)
 International Juridical Association (Guide, p. 46)
 International Labor Defense (Executive Order 10450)
 International Workers Order (Executive Order 10450)
 John Reed Clubs of the United States (Guide, p. 50)
 Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (Executive Order 10450)
 League of American Writers (Executive Order 10450)
 Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish
 Democracy (Guide, p. 55)

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (Executive Order 10450)
 National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (Guide, p. 61)
 National Emergency Conference (Guide, p. 62)
 National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights (Guide, p. 62)
 National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (Executive Order 10450)
 National Institute of Arts and Letters (Guide, edition published May 14, 1951, p. 84)
 National Lawyers' Guild (Guide, p. 64)
New Masses (Guide, p. 105)
 New York Conference for Inalienable Rights (Guide, p. 67)
 Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Vito Marcantonio (Guide, p. 69)
 North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (Executive Order 10450)
 Philadelphia Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill (affiliate of National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill) (Guide, p. 59)
 Samuel Adams School, Boston (Executive Order 10450)
 Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace (Guide, p. 36)
 Socialist Workers Party (Executive Order 10450)
 Socialist Youth League (Executive Order 10450)
 Southern Conference for Human Welfare (Guide, p. 81)
 Southern Negro Youth Congress (Executive Order 10450)
 Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (Executive Order 10450)
 Workers School of New York City (Guide, p. 93)
 Young Communist League (Executive Order 10450)